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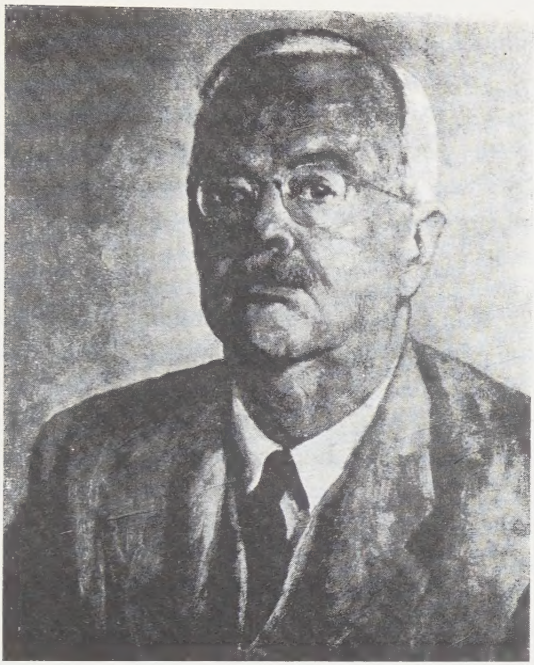

ERWIN G. GUDDE 1956

After a painting by Charles Surendorf

Vita Nostra Brevis Est

ERWIN G. GUDDE

IF ONE DRAWS DIAGONAL LINES through the former German province of Ostpreussen one will find almost exactly at the intersection the strange name of Schippenbeil. It stands for the town in which I was born almost seventy years ago. This name and my family name destined me to become an amateur onomatologist from childhood. I was curious to know what was behind the two names. The meaning of the name Schippenbeil I learned first. It is a hybrid. The first part contains German *Schiff*, English *ship*. The

second part is from the Baltic-Pruzzian root *pilis*, hill, related to the English *pillar*, German *Pfeiler*. The reason for the name was obvious. My home town stood on a butte which had served as a fortification of the old Pruzzians against the Poles and Masovians and later against the Germans. The town was almost surrounded by a navigable river, the Alle, which made a wide gentle curve around the *pilis*.

The origin and meaning of the name Gudde I discovered much later in life. A professor of German philology stated in our class that it was derived from the Germanic *gudha* and contained the same root as god, Goethe, and good. I naturally had no reason to doubt this statement. Not until later when I began the desultory study of the old Baltic languages did I become aware that the name was not German at all but Pruzzian and meant "bush." My name-giving ancestor had apparently dwelled "in the bush," that is, in the woodlands.

My home country had, to be sure, once been occupied by Germanic tribes, the Goths or the Burgundians or both. When they moved west to the Rhine or north to Scandinavia or south to the Black Sea, the land was occupied by Baltic tribes, the Pruzzians and the Lithuanians. Around the year 1200 Pruzzia had reached a certain level of culture and the people could successfully defend themselves against the Poles, who had been Christians for several centuries. Duke Konrad of Masovia finally called on the Order of the Teutonic Knights for help — an Order which had become unemployed when the crusades petered out. The knights came, conquered, and christanized Pruzzia with fire and sword — at that time the prevailing method of converting stubborn people to the new faith. But, to the great chagrin of the Poles, the Teutonic knights stayed right in the country and Germanized it. Those Pruzzians who foreswore the trinity Perkunos, Pikolus, and Potrimpus and accepted the new trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were taken into the fold of the German conquerors and blended with them to form a new "race," in modern times known as the Ostpreußen. My ancestor was one of them, and today only the name shows the origin of the family. The country of the Ostpreussen was not presented to the Poles until seven centuries later by Messrs. Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin, the latter naturally reserving a good slice for himself.

My youth in the friendly little town was happy, although if I were given the choice, I would rather live over again the past fifteen years than my childhood. My best friend was the sexton who gave me the freedom of the church in front of which my father's house stood. One of my greatest pleasures it was to climb the seven staircases and three ladders which led to a narrow room underneath the spire. Even today, after having seen the grand, awe-inspiring views which the American West offers, the picture which I beheld from the church tower has not faded. It showed only a few square kilometers of flat land, interspersed with farms and villages, birch and spruce forests, traversed by the silvery bands of two rivers.

The greatest attraction which the sexton had to offer me was the little library in his quarters adjoining the church. It contained the most wholesome fare for a boy: books on history and geography, old chronicles and diaries, accounts of travel and exploration. One of my favorite books was that unsurpassed classic, Robinson Crusoe. It dominated my imagination for many years and its realistic style had a profound influence upon the development of my own literary style. So lasting was this influence that at about the age of forty I started working on an extensive literary project, the desert island motif in world literature.

Another book which I could read again and again was the Chronicle of my home town. It was for me a most vivid form of instruction in history. The buildings, the place names, and even some family names whose origin reached far into former centuries were part of my living presence. There was nothing remarkable about the little town, to be sure. No battle had been fought before its gates, no great man had been born within its walls, no product had made its name known in the world. Only the fact that the brothers of two famous men were buried in Schippenbeil provided some reason for modest local pride. In the old cemetery rested the remains of the older brother and teacher of Ferdinand Gregorovius, author of one of the classics of historiography, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*. Under a slab in the church itself lay the body of the brother of the literary reformer at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Johann Christoph Gottsched. The succinctness and brevity of the inscription which the great Gottsched had composed for his brother impressed even the schoolboy and provided him at an early age with sound philosophical ideas:

At this Place, Inquisitive Reader,
Lies the Body of
Johann Friedrich Gottsched,
A well founded Christian
Not because of blind Belief
But after mature religious Consideration.
A young Scholar
Who had advanced far enough in Knowledge
To consider all Scholarship a Trifle.
A Lover of Science
Who became convinced that we know only little for certain
And Nothing in its Completeness.
A Student of Medicine
Who was searching for a Cure against Death
But who proved by his early Demise
That he, like all others, had not found it.

In school I was a good-for-nothing who resented discipline, teachers, and home-work. If I acquired nevertheless a fair education, it was due to my insatiable reading and the ease with which I comprehended and retained whatever I read. My best teacher was my mother. She taught me many things which no teacher could possibly teach. Above all she implanted in me the germs of those principles which in later life determined my attitude: to be independent in spirit, to forego advancement and success rather than acquire it by kowtowing, not to take anything for granted or believe anything that can not be explained logically or scientifically, never to do anything just because everybody else does it. I have known people who have been more successful in life by not adhering to such principles. I do not envy them.

At the age of twelve I left my home town and went to live in Allenstein with my married sister. For four years I attended the Kopernikus-Schule, named for the great astronomer who had resided in the castle of Allenstein for many years. Here too I could not come to a satisfactory understanding with my teachers. The instruction was dull and uninspiring. Yet, we did learn something, certainly more than the average high school student in the United States. Much as I resented it at the time, the great number of dates and names that the history teacher drilled into us have stood

me in good stead in later years. Unfortunately my memory is also still burdened by the names of the Sundays between Easter and Pentecost, from *quasimodogeniti* to *exaudi*, or the names of the sons of Jacob, from Ruben to Benjamin. These were drilled into us by our teacher of religion. It was an excellent method of alienating children from the church.

My mother, a great enthusiast for nature and the out-of-doors, wanted me to become a horticulturist. I attended a horticultural college for five terms and worked in that profession for several years. I saw a great deal of central Europe in those years, mostly on bicycle. The work itself was anything but pleasant. Not that I dislike gardening. During the late war I was the prize victory gardener of my district, and one of the pleasures of my old age is to look upon the stately trees which I started from seed. But horticulturists in my time were not organized into a solid labor union, and working conditions were entirely unsatisfactory. I was therefore overly happy when the editor of one of the Ullstein papers in Berlin, the brother of my mother's best friend, offered me a job as a reporter. To be a writer had always been my ambition, and I was sure I now had found my calling. I worked only one year in Berlin, attending at the same time lectures at the university, among others those of the Roosevelt professor, Hugo Münsterberg of Harvard, then at the zenith of his fame as a reformer of psychological concepts. These lectures were as uninteresting as most of those which I later heard at American universities.

In the summer of 1911 I decided to see a little more of the world. The name *Amerika* has a fascinating ring to every German, and I decided to try my luck in the United States. That I became a citizen of this country is the greatest blessing that fate has bestowed upon me.

The Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915 was then already widely advertised and I secured the commission of several German newspapers to report on it. After a jaunt through the Netherlands and northern France I embarked at the end of July for New York. I planned to drift slowly across the country doing odd jobs in journalism and reach San Francisco in time for the world's fair. In New York I found a job with the New York *Herold*. Although it was a German language paper my connection with it was an excellent schooling for my Americanization. I still think with sentimen-

tality of my desk from which I had a view of Park Row with the old city hall and the building of Pulitzer's *World*, which had remained behind when the hub of New York's newspaper world moved north.

I reached my destination ahead of schedule. In 1912 I was invited to come to San Francisco as assistant editor of a German socialist weekly — in the meantime I had become a member of the Socialist Party. There was a great satisfaction in working for a new progressive movement. At the election of November 4, 1912, the Debs-Seidel ticket received almost a million votes; it could have been twice as heavy had not Roosevelt's Bull Moose movement diverted a large fraction of the progressive element. Yet the Socialist Party bade fair to become the third major party. Unfortunately a few years later the victory of the radical bolshevik element in Russia inaugurated a new undemocratic, illiberal, socialistic movement which split up the old party in the United States as elsewhere, and put an end to hopes for the development of a liberal reform party on socialistic and democratic principles.

My connection with the *Vorwärts* of the Pacific Coast was unpleasant. Every Tom, Dick, and Harry who owned a share in the paper was my boss. In certain situations democracy does not work. Yet, these two years were pleasant and fruitful in other respects. I soon fell in love with San Francisco. As it was my habit when coming to a new place, I traversed the city during the first few weeks. From Lands End I walked to Bernal Heights, from Hunters Point to Ingleside Beach. Until Mount Tamalpais and Mount Diablo became my weekend goals, my favorite hike, summer or winter, was along the beach from the Cliff House to Mussel Rock. Although I have lived the larger part of my life in Alameda and Contra Costa counties, I have always considered San Francisco as "my city."

Of great importance for the completion of my Americanization was my connection with the "Radical Club." I was the youngest member and, I believe, I am now one of the few survivors. There was really nothing "radical" about the club. It was a collective name for a group of people who wanted to reform the world in one way or another. Some were for birth control, others for abolishing capital punishment. Some believed in socialism, others in anarchism (these were the most gentle of the lot); still others believed in

Theodore Roosevelt's progressivism. The discussions were at times eccentric but always interesting and instructive — especially for me who seldom opened his mouth. Here I met John D. Barry, the liberal columnist of the *Daily News*, who died only a few years ago in Santa Monica; Lincoln Steffens, the king of "muckrakers;" Fremont Older and his beautiful and aggressive wife, who were at that time leaders in the liberal movement, a few years later panegyrics of William Randolph Hearst; Har Dyal, a forerunner of Ghandi in the fight against British domination in India, and many others. Unless my memory fails me, it was also in the Radical Club that I met for the first time Chester Rowell, a great American newpaperman, who was then developing the San Francisco *Chronicle* into one of the leading dailies in the country.

In the summer of 1914, I quit my uncongenial job. But my intention of reporting on the world's fair came to naught. With the outbreak of the War people in Europe lost interest in the stucco city by the Golden Gate. I believe I saw only two or three of my articles about the Exposition in print. Reports on the reaction and the attitude of the United States toward the War always found a market, however. Political correspondence passed the British blockade as late as the spring of 1916 and — what is even more astonishing — honoraria from Germany reached me promptly.

The morning of the second of August 1914, is indelibly impressed upon my memory. The news of the preceding day had been rather discouraging, yet we hoped against hope that the catastrophe might still be avoided. I lived in Berkeley at that time, and after an almost sleepless night I walked at daybreak to the Southern Pacific Station (now Shattuck Square), where the first train would unload the morning papers. Today we turn a knob and the radio brings us the latest news to our bedside, It was not as easy as that half a century ago. When the newsboy opened the first parcel, the headline "German and Russian Outposts in Clash" in large block letters stared me in the face. Underneath the headline was a short cablegram: "A German patrol near Prostken was fired on this afternoon by a Russian frontier patrol. The Germans returned the fire. There were no losses."

These few words, so ridiculously insignificant in view of all that followed, struck me with such force that I said partly to the boy partly to myself, "Now everything is lost." These words still ring

in my ears. I shall not live to see the end of the gigantic struggle in which the world is now engaged. Yet, I may have been a true prophet when I said instinctively, almost unconsciously, on the fateful morning of August 2, 1914, "All is lost." The distrastous course which man-made history has taken since that date has kept alive in me the fear that the stupid exchange of shots in the forest of Prostken may actually have marked the beginning of the end of our humanistic, democratic, liberalistic civilization.

Whatever ideas I may have had concerning my immediate career, the outbreak of the war took the decision out of my hands. I enrolled as a student at the University of California at the mature age of twenty-five. My student years I remember with pleasure. The wonderful library, the well equipped laboratories, the cordial relationship between faculty and students, the lovely co-eds — all that was new and stimulating. At that time the campus still had a park-like character and the view across the Golden Gate was unobscured. The architecture of the buildings, to be sure, was as ugly and inharmonious as it is today.

I signed up for a variety of courses with emphasis on history. The idea of pursuing a journalistic career was still in my mind. At any rate, I wanted to acquire a broad education and leave to fate what might happen. Nothing was further removed from my mind than to become a teacher. Yet, a teacher I became and remained for forty years. For one nice August day in 1915 this happened.

Richard Pinger, a professor in the Department of German, had spent his sabbatical in Germany and brought greetings from an old friend. When Pinger heard of my plans, he enthusiastically enrolled me as a future professor of German, and to my life-long regret, I succumbed to his persuasive enthusiasm.

In 1918 it looked as if fate would intervene in my behalf. The political and intellectual leaders of the country came to the conclusion that the Kaiser's armies could be more effectively beaten if all German language instruction in the United States were suppressed. I had to give up my job as teaching assistant, and in order to replete my exchequer I worked for two years as a machinist's helper and street car conductor in San Francisco. Those were rewarding years in spite of hard work. I had no intention of finishing my work for the Ph. D. in German literature. Yet, the devil ex-

tended his tail again and I grabbed it. In 1920 I was back teaching German.

In the course of years I learned to enjoy the pleasure of teaching, and since the job was an easy one, my life as an academic teacher was happy and carefree. I "published" extensively, fulfilling thereby that part of professional duties which is considered in our universities of greater importance than efficient teaching. The light teaching load fortunately made it possible for me to do research in and write about subjects which I considered of greater merit and interest — especially the fascinating epic of western American history.

The routine of my serene and contented life was interrupted in 1933 when Hitler's gang succeeded in becoming masters of the land with which I was after all still connected by sentimental strings. I saw the danger which threatened our democratic civilization; it seemed to me that very few others saw it. I threw myself wholeheartedly into the fight against fascism while the statesmen as well as the mass of the citizens of our so-called democracies looked on disinterestedly when the militarists crushed Spanish democracy with the effective aid of Hitler and Mussolini. In retrospect I must admit reluctantly that those who believed that fascism, compared with communism, was the lesser evil were perhaps right. Today Moscow is a more formidable enemy to western civilization than Berlin or Rome could have become.

The political situation dominated my thinking and doing during the years preceding and following Pearl Harbor. In those years I learned that a human being is capable of accomplishing much more than one ordinarily assumes. In addition to my duties at the University I was first aid instructor with the Red Cross, chairman of a branch of disaster relief in San Francisco, chairman of the Congress for Democracy, delegate to the Citizens for Victory; I took care of two gardens, engaged in public speaking, broadcasting, and translating; and commuted daily between Berkeley and my home at the foot of Twin Peaks. Even my literary and scholarly work I did not neglect.

If in the last fourth of my life I changed from the status of an amateur to that of a professional onomatologist, it was due to my friend George R. Stewart. He was a member of a committee to prepare an encyclopedia of United States geographical names, and

in the fall of 1943 he invited me to write the volume on California. I declined at first. I was at that time teaching a class in the Army Specialized Training Program, and was otherwise engaged in war work. After Stalingrad and Tunis my modest services in helping to defeat the axis were no longer required. I accepted Stewart's renewed invitation. Upon the suggestion of the late Samuel Farquhar, manager of the University of California Press, *California Place Names* was made a university project. President Robert G. Sproul commissioned me officially to write the book, and an imposing list of sponsors gave the project dignity and importance. In almost five years of hard intellectual labor I produced the book. I have never felt the satisfaction of creative scholarship more keenly than in those years. It was a great pleasure for me that the book was generally well received. With one notable exception — my own dear alma mater. Ironically enough, President Sproul and his administrative and academic advisers failed to recognize my contribution to scholarship and California history.

In the year in which *California Place Names* was published, I also had the pleasure of erecting an enduring monument to the humanist who has exercised the most beneficial influence upon my thinking and doing. Upon my suggestion the United States Board on Geographical Names bestowed the name of Johann Wolfgang Goethe upon the highest yet unnamed peak in the Sierra Nevada.

In 1951 I thought of creating a center for name research in the United States by establishing a section on onomastics within the Modern Language Association. After some correspondence with Elsdon C. Smith, an enthusiastic onomatologist, we decided for the foundation of an American Name Society, which took place December 27, 1951, in Detroit, Michigan. After some misgivings, discouragements, and tribulations I succeeded in bringing out the first issue of *Names*, the journal of the American Name Society, in the spring of 1953, and continued as its editor until 1956. It was not my last but, I hope, my most lasting contribution to the realm of American letters.

Vita nostra brevis est — my life like that of all my fellow human beings has been brief, too brief to comprehend and enjoy it in all its fascinating aspects and forms. Yet I have lived it intensely and happily, and I have made at least some use of my modest talents. Now at an age approaching seventy I have the great satisfaction of

unimpaired mental alertness. Physically I have not been so fortunate. I have enjoyed good health and a sturdy body which enabled me to swim from Richmond Beach to Red Rock and back at the age of forty-five and to climb Mount Lyell at fifty one. But in my sixties arthritis began to have a crippling effect on my hips, and the time may come when I shall have to imitate Mark Twain's example and do my writing in bed. It does not discourage me. From my study I look over centuries old oaks, over acacias and pines, ceanothus and Fremontia which I once started from seed; I see the hills and dales of one of California's beautiful broad valleys. When this picture some day will fade I hope I shall leave the world with this thought in my mind:

You happy eyes!
Wherever you were,
Whatever you saw —
It was bonny and fair.

FIFTY YEARS OF WRITING

This bibliography which I append to the sketch of my life is naturally incomplete. My youthful efforts, the writings of my socialistic period, the editorials in the *Vorwärts der Pacific Küste*, my reports for European periodicals on the World Fair of 1915 in San Francisco and on America's attitude in World War I — all that is gone. The few fragments I still have I shall some day entrust to the flames. Of one article I wish I had a copy because it was my first attempt in the field of onomatology. The Germans called a florist *Blumengeschäftsinhaber*. In an article in the leading florists' weekly I proposed to substitute for this monstrosity the term *Blütner* and for a florist's shop *Blütnerei*. The year I left Berlin I had the satisfaction of a number of *Blumengeschäfte* having adopted my proposal. I do not know whether the idea spread and was accepted elsewhere.

This bibliography then covers approximately the period of my life as academic teacher. Most newspaper articles, reviews of textbooks, short notices etc. were not included. Perhaps I should have weeded out a little more. But I thought the list might reflect the literary interests of a humanist — even though there may be quite a bit of chaff among the wheat.

1918

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1919

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1921

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1922

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1924

"Hoffmann v. Fallersleben," *California Journal*, February 15.

"Deutsche Literatur in England," *Die Neue Zeit*, VI, No. 29.

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1925

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1926

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1928

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1930

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"Die Tragödie am Donnersee," *Das Echo*, XLIX, No. 11. Same in *Deutsch-Amerika*, XVII, No. 11.

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1933

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1934

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Scandinavian Place Names in England. III.

ASSAR JANZÉN

Bagthorpe

In the Danelaw are two habitations with the name of *Bagthorpe*.

1. A hamlet in Selston parish, North Division of Broxtow wapentake, Nottinghamshire. The name is recorded *Bagthorp(e)* 1490–1599, *passim*, *Bagthorpe moore* 1609.

2. A parish in Docking district, Norfolk county. The name is recorded as *Bachestorp* 1086 DB, *Baggetorp* 1206, *Bakethorp* 1254, *Baggethorp* 1291.

The former name is in *EPNS*, Vol. 17, p. 131, given the following brief interpretation: "Possibly '*Baggi's þorp* or outlaying village'." Reference is made to the farm name *Bagletts* in Harthill wapentake, East Riding of Yorkshire (*Baggeflet(e)* 12th century, twice, *Bagflete* 1371–1466, *passim*), the second element of which in *EPNS*, Vol. 14, p. 233, is given as OE *fleot* "an inlet." The following interpretation is suggested: "Bagletts is less than a mile from the Humber and *fleot* may refer to an inlet of which traces are still visible at low tide or to one of the two streams, Crabley Beck and Mill Beck. There is nothing in the topography to suggest that the first element is not the OE pers. name *Bacga* or OScand. *Baggi*." The last statement is rather confusing. How could something in the topography indicate whether or not the first element is a personal name? We shall come bach to this name later.

Walter Rye, *Scandinavian names in Norfolk* (1920), p. 11, lists *Bagthorpe* in Norfolk as a Scandinavian name, but gives no interpretation. E. Ekwall, *The concise Oxford dictionary of English place-names* (hereafter abbreviated Ekwall, *Dict.*), p. 22, suggests that the first element of this name is a personal name, either ODan. *Bakki* or perhaps OE *Bacca*. A. H. Smith, *English place-name elements* (hereafter abbreviated Smith, *Elem.*), Vol. 2, p. 212, mentions only the first alternative, which no doubt is justified. The element *-thorpe* indicates a Scandinavian settlement, at least

in the Danelaw, and it is, then, more likely that the first element also is a Scandinavian word, even if instances of hybrid *þorp* names do exist.[1]

The interpretation of the first element of the second *Bagthorpe* as the personal name *Bakki* is not convincing. In Denmark this name is not known before 1406 and recorded only from Slesvig in southern Jutland. It seems, then, quite certain that this name just barely crossed the Danish border from the German territory; cf. OGerm. *Bacco*, Frisian *Backe*.[2] E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn ock fingerade namn från medeltiden* (hereafter abbreviated Lind, *Dopnamn*), does not know the name from Norway or Iceland, nor do M. Lundgren—E. Brate—E. H. Lind, *Svenska personnamn från medeltiden*[3] (hereafter abbreviated Lundgren-Brate-Lind, *Sv. personnamn*) from Sweden. Thus, it is quite safe to assume that no native given name *Bakki* existed in medieval Scandinavia.

Let us also explore the possible existence of *Bakki* as a by-name. *DGP*, II. *Tilnavne*, col. 31, adduces six persons with this name, but the oldest instance is as late as ca. 1370, and the others are from the 15th and 16th centuries. From Norway we know of one person by-named *Bakki* from 1369.[4] Lind assumes, no doubt for excellent reasons, that the by-name *Bakki* in reality is a place-name in underived form used as a by-name, a frequently occurring phenomenon in medieval Scandinavia. To my knowledge, no by-name *Bakke* has been recorded from Sweden.

This investigation yielded the information that no Scandinavian is known to have borne the by-name *Bakki* earlier than 1369. Those

[1] About the distinction between the cognate OE *þrop* and the OScand. *þorp* in English place-names see, for instance, Ekwall, *op. cit.*, pp. 446f., Smith, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 205ff.

[2] *Danmarks gamle Personnavne* (hereafter abbreviated *DGP*), I. *Fornavne*, col. 91.

[3] *Nyare bidrag till kännedom om de svenska landsmålen ock svenskt folkliv*, Vol. 10:6–7.

[4] E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska personbinamn från medeltiden* (hereafter abbreviated Lind, *Binamn*), col. 13, lists two other possible instances: 1. A person whose name in *Flateyjarbók* is written *Eirikr backi*, but in the same manuscript also *E. baaga* (gen.) and in *Codex Frisianus*, *E. baggi*. Thus, the correct form is uncertain, most likely *Baggi*. 2. A man named *Bjǫrn* who lived in the first half of the 13th century and whose by-name in *Eirispennill* occurs as *bakci*, but in *Flateyjarbók* as *packi*, in *Jöfraskinna* as *paski*, and in *Codex Frisianus* as *barki*. Whatever the real name was, it was hardly *Bakki*.

few persons from the late Medieval Ages who did have it were probably named after the places from which they came. But this means of distinction did not develop until rather late, succeeding an older type in which a preposition preceded the place-name, e.g. *Ulv i Bakka.*[5]

Thus, it would be extremely difficult to justify or defend the assumption that a by-name *Bakki* existed in the 9th century when the Scandinavians invaded the land of the Angles in England. Furthermore, there is, as I pointed out above, only a scant possibility that Ekwall's suggestion to interpret the first element of the name *Bagthorpe* in Norfolk as the OE personal name *Bacca* is correct, even if a small number of hybrid *þorp* names do exist in the Danelaw.[6] Consequently, since the vast majority of these *þorp* names belongs to Danish rather than Norwegian and Swedish settlements, it appears advisable to seek as the first element a word which without any doubt existed in Denmark in the 9th century.

If we follow Ekwall and assume that the intervocalic consonant in the first element was an original *k*, it is possible that the Norfolk name contains the OScand. appellative *bakki*, m. "a slope, a ridge, a hill" etc., if the topographical conditions justify this interpretation. The first element in *þorp* names is not infrequently a word describing topographical conditions, e.g. *Burythorpe* (*berg* "a hill"), *Layerthorpe* (*leirr* "clay, a clay bottom"), etc., both names in Yorkshire.[7]

There is, however, reason to call in question Ekwall's unqualified interpretation of the first element, accepted by A. H. Smith. In the first place it seems to be rather unexpected that a voiceless long *k* developed into a voiced *g* before the voiceless consonant *þ*, unless attraction from another word or some kind of folk etymology caused the substitution of *g* for *k*. It is hard to find any well-founded reason for either alternative in this particular case.

But conversely, it would be phonologically and phonetically quite natural that a *g* before *þ* could lose its voiced quality to the extent that it would be taken for a *k* by the Norman scribe who recorded it in *Domesday Book*. Another possible, perhaps more plausible, explanation of the *ch* in *Domesday Book* ist that it is due

[5] See Sven Ekbo, *Nordiska personbinamn under vikinga- och medetid* (*Nordisk Kultur*, Vol. 7), pp. 276f.

[6] See Smith, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 212.

[7] See Smith, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 211.

to a local variation in the pronunciation caused by Anglo-Norman influence, as is probably the case in such forms as *Rachenhild* (< ON *Ragnhildr*), *Echebrand*, *Æche-* (< OGerm. *Egbrand*), *Echefrid* (< OE *Ecgfrið*); cf. also the appearance of *c* and *k* for *g* in the same source, e.g. *Alcot* (< ODan. *Algot*), *Hakena*, *Hakene* (< ODan. *Haghni*), *Wicolf* (< ON *Wigulfr*), *Eculf* (< OE *Ecgwulf*), etc.[8] A good parallel is also the place-name *Skegby* in Thurgarton wapentake, Nottinghamshire, containing the OScand. personal name *Skeggi*, which in *Domesday Book* appears as *Scachebi*.[9] Also in younger sources *k* appears for *g*, e.g. in the identical *Skegby* in Broxtow wapentake, Nottinghamshire, written *Skekeby* 1199.[10]

The forms adduced by Ekwall are too few for a safe judgement whether the first element in *Bagthorpe* in Norfolk originally contained a *g* rather than a *k*. We have *Bache-* in DB and *Bake-* 1254, but *Bagge-* 1206 and 1291. Since it would be difficult to understand a change of *k* into *g* before *þ*, and since an original *g* is sometimes in *DB* represented by *ch* and in later sources by *k*, it seems to me to be a natural conclusion that the form *Bachestorp* in DB represents an actual form **Bagget*(*h*)*orp* and shows an inorganic genitive-*s* as is not infrequently the case in this source; cf. *Tovetune* and *Tolvestone* (ON *Tófi*), *Udesburg* and *Udeburg* (OE *wudu*, m. "wood," a *u*-stem), *Wilesforde* (probably OE *Willa*) in Nottinghamshire.[11]

In my opinion, there is good reason to believe that the two now homonymous names *Bagthorpe* in Nottinghamshire and Norfolk were originally identical, and that the first element is OScand. *Bagga-*. But the interpretation of the element given in *EPNS*, Vol. 17, p. 131, as the gen. of the personal name *Baggi* is not complete.

It is true that *Baggi* is a well evidenced given name in Denmark and Sweden, but it is unknown in Iceland and the territory of present-day Norway. *DGP*, col. 90, knows from Denmark three, possibly four, medieval men by this name. Lind, *Dopnamn*, col. 118, adduces three persons so named from the province of Bohuslän, today belonging to Sweden but in medieval time to Norway. The oldest form is dated 1334. From Sweden are, according to Lundgren-Brate-Lind, *Sv. personnamn*, p. 21, known three persons named *Bagge*, the first one recorded from 1292.

[8] See Olof von Feilitzen, *The pre-conquest personal names of Domesday Book*, pp. 113, 119.

[9] *EPNS*, Vol. 17, p. 190.

[10] *EPNS*, Vol. 17, p. 133.

[11] *EPNS*, Vol. 17, pp. 152, 180, 251.

Much more often was *Baggi* used as a by-name or nick-name, and in this function it was also more widely distributed. *DGP*, Vol. 2, *Tilnavne*, col. 26ff., lists no less than ca. 80 persons bearing this by-name, the oldest one from 1304. Lind, *Binamn*, col. 12, knows 15 instances from Norway before 1500, the oldest from 1328, and one from Iceland, recorded in 1392. Some of the Norwegians hailed from provinces that today belong to Sweden. Also in Sweden was *Baggi* frequently used as a by-name, evidenced the first time as *bage* in a diploma from 1293.[12] The wide geographical distribution as well as some place-names show that the by-name *Baggi* existed much earlier than is indicated by its occurence in written sources. There is no doubt that it was well established during the VikingAge. Gradually it also came to be used as a given name, but to a lesser extent, due to its somewhat derogatory flavor in some areas. The meaning of Old West-Scand. *baggi*, m., was "a bag, a bundle." In modern Scand. dialects it denotes either a cocky, overbearing person or various lumpy or lumbering animals (calves, sheep, rams, small horses, certain insects) and persons. It seems quite clear that either a stuck-up behavior or the physical frame or structure originally gave occasion to nick-naming a person *Baggi*, but that the dyslogistic sense faded and the name could be used as a given name.[13] — Walter Rye, *op. cit.*, p. 2, gives the interesting information that *Bagge* is still to be found in Norfolk as a personal name.

Many Scandinavian place-names, including more than 20 Swedish names ending in *torp*, include OSwed. *Bagga-* as the first element. In most cases it undoubtedly refers to persons (nick-)named *Baggi*. However, in Denmark and Sweden the appellative *baggi* was also used as a derogatory and facetious denotion of Norwegians.

[12] See *Svenskt Diplomatarium*, utgifvet af Joh. Gust. Liljegren, Vol. 2 (1834), p. 155; E. Hellquist, *Xenia Lideniana* (1912), p. 97; S. O. Nordberg, *Fornsvenskan i våra latinska originaldiplom före 1300* (Uppsala, 1926), p. 35; A. Janzén, *De fornsvenska personnamnen* (= *Nordisk Kultur*, Vol. 7), p. 254.

[13] On the etymology and meanings of the word *baggi* see F. Kluge, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, Vol. 10, pp. 441ff.; Otto von Friesen, *Om de germanska mediageminatorna* (1897), pp. 97ff., and *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, Vol. 18 (1902), p. 56; Erik Brate, *ibid.*, Vol. 19, p. 231; Fredrik Tamm, Etymologisk svensk ordbok (1890–1905), pp. 20f.; B. Kahle, *Die altwestnordischen Beinamen bis etwa zum Jahre 1400* (*Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, Vol. 26), p. 202; Finnur Jónsson, *Tilnanve i den islandske oldlitteratur* (*Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1907), p. 292; Elof Hellquist, *Svensk etymologisk ordbok* (1939), p. 46; *Svenska Akademiens ordbok* (hereafter abbreviated *SAOB*), B, col. 70ff.

SAOB, B, col. 74, points out that this meaning of the word must be very old, since in *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, chapter 326, it is told that the Swedish ruler Birger Jarl in 1225 ordered those in his entourage to be civil and respectful to the Norwegian king Håkon and his courtiers that visited the Swedish court, forbidding them on penalty of death to call the guests "*bagga eða öðrum hæðyrðum.*" In Sweden, this use of the word is especially common in dialects close to the Norwegian border. Even the inhabitants of the province of Bohuslän, which is now Swedish but belonged to Norway until 1658, are still nick-named *baggar*, pl., by their neighbors in the province of Västergötland.

In the Swedish border districts towards Norway there is an obvious concentration of place-names containing the first element *Bagge-*. Even if some of these names may contain the personal (by-)name *Bagge* or denote some kind of animal it is evident that most of them contain the gen. sing. or plur., OSwed. *bagga*, of the appellative *bagge* "a Norwegian." Therefore I hold that, for instance, the name *Baggetorp* in the province of Dalsland, not very far from the Norwegian border, more likely contains the appellative than the personal name.[14] I have the same opinion about the place-name *Baggetorp* in the border province of Värmland.[15]

In the Danelaw during the early Middle Ages the situation was somewhat similar to that in Scandinavia. There were Danes, Swedes and Norwegians living in neighboring settlements. It is, then, quite natural that a Norwegian habitation by Danes or Swedes was called *Bagga-þorp*, signifying the people or the man who lived there by the facetious appellative. Therefore, the interpretations of the twice occurring English place-name *Bagthorpe* and the earlier mentioned *Bagletts* should include both alternatives, viz. the (by-) name *Bagge* or the facetious appellative *bagge*, in the singular or plural genitive. This applies also to *Bag Dale* (*Bagdalesclose* 1407) and *Bagby* (*Bag(h)ebi* 1086 *DB*, *Baggaby* 1158–66) in the North Riding of Yorkshire, which in *EPNS*, Vol. 5, pp. 145, 189, are interpreted as containing the personal name *Baggi*, and possibly some other names in the Danelaw that contain *Bag(g)-* as the first syllable.

[14] *Sveriges ortnamn, Ortnamnen i Älvsborgs län,* Vol. 18, pp. 2ff., mentions only the personal name.

[15] *Sveriges ortnamn, Ortnamnen i Värmlands län,* Vol. 5, p. 20, refers only to the personal name.

Tidkinhow

A farm in Stanghow township, Skelton parish, Langbargh East wapentake, North Riding of Yorkshire, bears the name *Tidkinhow*, pronounced *tiŋkinɔu* and recorded as *Tidkinhowe* 1575. According to *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. 148, the last element of this name is ON *haugr* "a hill, a mound" and the first "a late pet-form of some such personal name as OE *Tydi*, *Tidi*."

This interpretation is no doubt possible, but it operates with considerable difficulties and improbabilities of which the major ones seem to be the following.

1. The last element is a Scandinavian word, and therefore the first element normally would be a word of the same origin. However, hybrid names do occur.

2. The proposed personal name **Tyd(i)kin*, **Tid(i)kin* has not been evidenced.

3. No other personal name derived by the original Low German diminutive ending *-kin* can be established in the place-nomenclature of the North Riding of Yorkshire, not even if field names and other minor names are taken into consideration. If formations in *-kin* existed at all in this area, they must have been of extremely rare occurrance.

4. The assumed bases for the proposed *kin-* formation, OE *Tydi*, *Tidi*, are of uncertain provenance. It is possible that *Tidi*, at least partly, came from Scandinavia, where an OSwed. name *Tiþe* existed,[16] but *Tydi* is hard to trace. It is possible that both *Tidi* and *Tydi*, like many other OE names in *-i*, *-e*, were hypocoristic or diminutive formations.[17] If that is true, there was hardly any need for another, foreign, suffix with the same function.

When these and other circumstances are considered, a ME name **Tyd(e)kin*, **Tid(e)kin* appears somewhat strange and rather unlikely, particularly in the North Riding of Yorkshire, the heart of Scandinavian England. I like to advance another suggestion which, I think, is at least as worthy of attention as the one given in *EPNS*.

The first element is undoubtedly a personal name, which is in conformity with the observation that *haugr* according to *EPNS*,

[16] Lundgren-Brate-Lind, *Sv. personnamn*, p. 279.

[17] See R. Müller, *Über die Namen des nordhumbrischen Liber Vitæ* (= *Palæstra*, Vol. 9), pp. 68f.; Mats Redin, *Studies on uncompounded personal names in Old English* (Uppsala, 1919), pp. 124, 128, and the literature quoted.

Vol. 5, p. 149 (cf. p. 327), in the area here concerned "seems to be most frequently coupled with a pers. name." I suggest as the first element the well known OSwed. name *Tiþkumi*.[18] This assumption needs, however, a few explanatory and supporting comments.

Phonologically and phonetically, the actual form *Tidkinhow* represents the result of a natural development from early OSwed. **Tiþkuma-haugR*.[19] The change of post-vocalic *m* to *n* is well evidenced in OE. Already in *Domesday Book* there are several instances, e.g. *Arnegrin* < ON *Arngrimr*, *Vlgrin* < ON **Ulfgrimr*, *Offran* < OE *Ōsfram*, etc.[20] — The unstressed *u* was, at least in the late OE or early ME period, reduced to *e*.[21] The further change to *i* was either due to assimilation into identity with the vowel in the first syllable (progressive vowel assimilation) or possibly to association with the ending *-kin*, or both.

In the form *Tiþkin-* the consonant combination *-þk-* was bound to change in one way or another. The actual development into *-ŋk-* was caused by a tendency to give both consonants the same basis of articulation and make them homorganic, in which case the phonetically weaker fricative *þ* had to yield to the stronger explosive *k*.

The OSwed. personal name *Tiþkume* seems to have been used in a very small area in central Sweden west of the present capital of Stockholm, viz. in Södermanland and the southern part of Uppland. It is known only from runic inscriptions from the middle of the 11th century. Obviously, it became extinct during the first half of the Middle Ages, probably already in the late 11th century. Six men by name of *Tiþkume* are known, one of whom was a runecarver who signed eight inscriptions known today.[22]

The northern part of Yorkshire was invaded by the Danes in 875, and during the following years many of them settled down as

[18] OSwed. *þ* is here equivalent to ON *ð*.

[19] In central Sweden, monophtongization of the Proto-Norse diphtongs did not take place until after 1050; see E. Wessén, *Svensk språkhistoria* (1951), Vol. 1, pp. 20f.

[20] See Olof von Feilitzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 84f.

[21] K. Luick, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache* (1921), p. 489; O. von Feilitzen, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

[22] See *Sveriges runinskrifter*, Vol. 3, pp. 56, 160, 267; Vol. 6, pp. 117f.; 146f.; Vol. 8:1, pp. 269f. — About the etymology of the name see Erik Brate and Sophus Bugge, *Runverser* (*Antikvarisk tidskrift för Sverige*, Vol. 10, 1891), p. 337; Erik Brate, *Svenska runristare*, p. 61, and the modification in *Sveriges runinskrifter*, Vol. 8, p. 270.

farmers. Early in the next century a new invasion began, this time of Norwegians from Ireland and other Norwegian settlements in the British Isles. It is true that in the particular region here concerned, where Tidkinhow is situated, the place-nomenclature shows a more thorough penetration of Norwegians than of Danes. But the Danish element was by no means inconsiderable. In Langbargh East wapentake at least *Danby* (twice; *Daneby* 1086 DB) and probably some others of the names ending in *-by* as well as a few names containing *-thorp*, e.g. *Thorp* (*Torp* 1086 DB; now *Pinchinthorpe*), *Ugthorpe* (*Ug(h)ethorp* 1086 DB), *Roskelthorpe* (*Roschel torp* 1086 DB) give evidence of Danish settlements. According to a tradition related in *Whitby Cartulary* (manuscript from the 15th century) two Danish chieftains destroyed in 870 the monastery of *Streonæshalch* in Whitby Strand, which is only ca. 15 miles from Tidkinkow. We also know that Scandinavian emigration to the Danelaw, including northern Yorkshire, continued into the 11th century until the days of the Conquest.[23]

But is there, then, much probability that an immigrant, *Tiþkume*, from central Sweden settled down as a landowner or tenant in northern Yorkshire? Yes, indeed there is. Many warriors from the southern and central parts of Sweden took part especially in the Danish expeditions to England and many stayed there for good.

About twenty runic inscriptions in Sweden bear witness of Swedish men, several from the same district where the name *Tiþkume* was used, who sailed to England in peaceful or warlike errands. The by-name *Ænglandsfari*, meaning "a traveler to England," occurs on a stone from Gamla Uppsala in Uppland. On another stone from Bårresta in the same province is mentioned a certain man *Ulver* who took part in three viking expeditions to England, where he collected the Danegeld. Other inscriptions from Uppland tell about several other men who went to England.

Of great interest for the problem here discussed is a rune stone found at Husby-Lyhundra church in Uppland. The inscription on this stone says that four brother erected the stone in memory of a

[23] About the invasions of Scandinavians in Yorkshire and their effects on the place-nomenclature see Johannes Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, Vol. 2 and 3 (1878, 1882); Alexander Bugge, *Vikingene*, Vol. 2 (1906), pp. 237ff.; Harald Lindkvist, *Middle-English place-names of Scandinavian origin* (1912), pp. XLIVff.; *EPNS*, Vol. 5, pp. xxff.; etc.

fifth brother, named Sven, and continues: "He died in Jutland [in Denmark]. He was traveling to England." Sven B. F. Jansson, who gives the now quoted information about these inscriptions,[24] comments on this stone:[25] "It is also valuable to get the information that Sven was on his way to England. It makes us believe that he, like many other '*svear*' [i.e. men from central Sweden] had sailed to join the fleet which under Knut's command prepared itself for the attack which in 1016 resulted in Knut's becoming king of England."

A stone from Gåsinge church in the province of Södermanland gives the names of two men who had been "westwards," i.e. in England, probably taking part in King Knut's expedition. From Aspa in the central part of the same province is a stone erected in memory of a certain man Öpir, who had fought in England. Several other stones from Södermanland honor men who died in England.[26] Also from runic inscriptions found in the province of Östergötland, south of Södermanland, we learn about Swedes that took part in Knut's battles in England.[27]

Thus, a surprinsgly large number of runic inscriptions give information about men from central Sweden who traveled to England in the first half of the 11th century. They all joined the Danish expeditions. There is no doubt that a considerable part of the Danish hords of invaders and settlers in England came from central Sweden.

If my interpretation of the English place-name *Tidkinhow* is correct, we here have a testimony, on English soil, of a man from Södermanland or southern Uppland who in the first half of the 11th century joined the Danes that settled down as farmers in north-eastern England.

Bollam Beck

In the parish of Laxton in the South Clay division of Bassetlaw wapentake in Nottinghamshire is a stream called *Bollam Beck*. According to *EPNS*, Vol. 17, p. 299, this name is on record in the following forms: *Ballandebec* 1226, *Balandebec* 1232, *Bollam Beck* 1625. No interpretation of the name is given.

[24] Sven B. F. Jansson, *Svenska utlandsfärder i runinskrifternas ljus* (= *Svenska spår i främmande land*, Vol. 3), pp. 32ff.; see also Otto von Friesen, *De svenska runinskrifterna* (= *Nordisk Kultur*, Vol. 6), pp. 203ff. [25] Translation by Janzén.

[26] About these stones from Södermanland see Otto von Friesen, *op. cit.*, pp. 188ff.; *Sveriges runinskrifter*, Vol. 3, *passim*.

[27] See Otto von Friesen, *op. cit.*, pp. 185f.; *Sveriges runinskrifter*, Vol. 2, *passim*.

Nottinghamshire is in the area that was colonized first by Danes in 870's. The place-nomenclature in this county shows a large percentage of Scandinavian names and gives the impression of an intensive Danish settlement; see *EPNS*, Vol. 17, pp. XVI ff. In the neighborhood of Bollam Beck are such obviously Scandinavian names as *Bilsthorpe* (*Bildestorp* 1086 DB; gen. of the OScand. personal name *Bildr* + *þorp* "an outlying farmstead"[28], *Eakring* (*Ec(he)ringhe* 1086 DB; OScand. *eik*, f. "an oak" + *hringr*, m. "a ring"), *Gamston* (*Gamelestune* 1086 DB; gen. of the OScand. personal name *Gamall* + *tūn* "an enclosure, a farm"), *Walesby* (*Walesbi* 1086 DB; gen. of the OScand. personal name *Valr* + *byr* "a farm, a village"), and many others.

In the light of the thorough Danish penetration of Nottinghamshire and the fact that the last element in *Bollam Beck* is OScand. *bekkr*, m. "a small stream," it is only natural to seek a Scandinavian word also as the first element. Such a word is not difficult to find.

I suggest the first element, in the 13th century recorded as *Bal(l)ande-*, to be the present participle of the same verb as Norw. dial. *bala* "to make noise, to roar,"[29] early Mod. Swed. *bala* "to yell, to bleat,"[30] closely related to ON *belja* "to bellow,"[31] *belja*, f. "a cow,"[32] Norw. Dial. *belja* "to low," *belje*, n. "lowing,"[33] Middle Dutch *belen* "to bark,"[34] and such formations on the weak ablaut grade as ON *bulja* "to resound, to roar," *bylr*, m. "a squall, a gust of wind,"[35] Norw. dial. *byl*, m. "lowing."[36] A wider distribution have derivative formations with long postvocalic stem consonant, e.g. ON *bella* "to hit with a cracking sound,"[32] OHG *bellan* "to bark,"[37] OE *bellan* "to roar, bark, bellow,"[38] ON *bjalla*, f., Mod. Danish *bjelde* (*ld* orthographic for *ll*), OE *belle*, f., MLG *belle*, f., "a

[28] The OScand. words are given in OIcel. orthography, although the settlements in most cases were Danish.

[29] I. Aasen, *Norsk Ordbog* (1875), p. 40; H. Ross, *Norsk Ordbog* (1895), p. 33.

[30] *SAOB*, B, col. 149.

[31] R. Cleasby and G. Vigfusson, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary* (1957), p. 57.

[32] Erik Jonsson, *Oldnordisk Ordbog* (1863), p. 49.

[33] Aasen, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[34] J. Verdam, *Middelnederlandsch handwoordenboek* (1911), p. 72.

[35] Claesby-Vigfusson, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[36] Aasen, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 93.

[37] E. G. Graff, *Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz*, Vol. 3 (1837), col. 91.

[38] C. W. M. Grein, *Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter* (1912), p. 42; J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, Vol. 1 (1882), p. 82.

bell."[39] The weak ablaut vowel occurs in Mod. Icel. *bulla* "to boil up,"[40] Norw. dial. *bulla* "to bubble like boiling water, to roar, jabber,"[41] OHG *bullon* "to bellon."[42]

The long *l* is usually explained as due to an assimilation of *lz* or *ln* in Proto-Germanic **belz-* or *beln-*,[43] but it may equally well have developed through an intensifying or iterative lengthening.[44] J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 123, seems to have the same opinion when he explains the long *l*-sound as the result of "Konsonantenschärfung in der Schallwurzel."

About river-names containing onomatopoetic words as well as formations in *-ande* denoting waterfalls and rapids see Janzén, *Names*, Vol. 6, pp. 17, 21.

Ruswarp

Ruswarp, pronounced *ruzəp*, is the name of a township in Whitby parish, Whitby Strand wapentake, North Riding of Yorkshire. The following older forms are known: *Risewarp(e)*, *Ryse-* 1145 to 1351, *passim*, *Riswarp* 1316, *Ruswarp Carr* 1623, *Ruswarpe* 1665.

In interpreting this name A. H. Smith, *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. 125, lays stress upon the fact that Ruswarp is on the north bank of the river Esk, which leads him to the identification of the last element with a Yorkshire dialect word *warp* "the sediment deposited by a river, an accumulation of mud checking the flow of a river" (North Riding), also occurring as the first element in *warp-land* "land

[39] Cleasby-Vigfusson, *op. cit.*, p. 64 (*bjalla* incorrectly considered an English loan-word in Iceland; so also *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Vol. 1 (1933), p. 784); *Ordbog over det danske Sprog*, Vol. 2, col. 729; Bosworth-Toller, *loc. cit.*; K. Schiller and A. Lübben, *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch*, Vol. 1 (1875), p. 226.

[40] Cleasby-Vigfusson, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

[41] Aasen, *op. cit.*, p. 89; Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

[42] Graff, *op. cit.*, col. 92.

[43] See, for instance, F. Tamm, *Etymologisk svensk ordbok* (1890–1905), p. 39; H. F. Falk and A. Torp, *Norwegisch-dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Vol. 1 (1910), p. 76; A. Torp, *Nynorsk etymologisk ordbok*, p. 26; E. Hellquist, *Svensk etymologisk ordbok* (1939), p. 75; F. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (1957), p. 64; A. Johannesson, *Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 629; Jan de Vries, *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1957), p. 32.

[44] A. Torp, *op. cit.*, p. 15, and Johannesson, *loc. cit.*, hold that such words as Mod. Icel., Norw. dial. *bala* "to drudge, to live in toil and moil," Faroese *balast* "to walk along drudgingly" belong to the same root as the words quoted above. This assumption must be wrong because of the striking difference in meaning; cf. E. Hellquist, *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, Vol. 14 (1898), pp. 5f.

formed by the silt of a river" (East Riding)[45]. Smith goes on to say that this meaning is required by the geographical situation of Ruswarp, and furthermore he states that this word *warp* is "identical in form with" ON *varp*, n., *varpa*, f., found in the Norwegian place-name *Varpet* (O. Rygh, *Norske Gaardnavne*, Vol. 1, p. 218, etc.[46]) Barely accectable is his statement that "the root idea of the whole series is 'something cast up' from *varpa* 'to throw, cast'," since it should be noted that the ON verb *varpa* is a secondary *ōn*-formation derived from the primary verbal root in ON *verpa* (*varp*, *orpinn*), Goth. *wairpan*, OSax. *werpan*, OHG *werfan*, OE *weorpan* "to throw." In referring to the "root idea" it would be more appropriate to refer to the root verb just adduced.

Smith asserts, rightly enough, that the first element in *Ruswarp* is ON *hrís*, n. "shrub, brushwood." He gives the meaning of the place-name as "silt-land overgrown with brushwood." Thus, he assumes that the name is a hybrid formation, the first element being Scandinavian, the second, Anglo-Saxon. — In principle, I have no objection to this assumption, since hybrid names do occur in small numbers, in areas that were thoroughly penetrated by Scandinavian settlers, but it reduces the probability of his interpretation.

The change of *Ris(e)-* to *Rus-* is according to Smith, *loc. cit.*, "probably due to the influence of *w* especially in the neighbourhood of *r*." As parallels are adduced the following names from the North Riding: *Ruddings* (p. 85; *le Ridding* 1262; not a good parallel, since the environment of the stem vowel, whatever its origin is, is different from that of *Ruswarp*); *Runneswick* (p. 139; *Reneswike* 1273, *Rinneswyk* 1293; the stem vowel of the first element is here uncertain, but definitely not identical with that in *Ruswarp*, and the phonetic environment is partly different); *Russwick* (p. 241; pronounced *ruzik*; *Risenvic(k)* 1086 DB; this is a perfect parallel).

A. H. Smith, *Elem.*, Vol. 1, p. 265, Vol. 2, p. 229, repeats his interpretation of *Ruswarp* as *hrís-varp*, but Vol. 2, p. 248, he gives as an alternative identification of the second element OE *wearp(e)*, meaning either "an osier or twig" or "silted land."

E. Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 379, identifies the second element with OE *geweorp* "throwing" etc., Engl. dial. *warp* "silt, silt land."

[45] J. Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, Vol. 6 (1905), pp. 387 f.

[46] See O. Rygh, *Norske Gaardnavne*, Vol. 19, *Fællesregister* (1936), p. 319.

I consider any of these suggestions possible, but hardly probable. I am inclined to regard another interpretation as being more likely. Ruswarp is situated in Whitby Strand wapentake, where the Scandinavian settlement was so thorough that the place-names of native English origin comprise a small minority in comparison with the Scandinavian names. From the same parish as *Ruswarp* *EPNS*, Vol. 5, pp. 119ff., adduces, besides *Ruswarp*, 27 definitely Scandinavian habitational names and 8 Anglo-Saxon ones. Four names could have either origin. Thus, there are more than three Scandinavian names to a native name. None of them seem to be hybrid compounds. In the light of this distribution it is methodically preferable in the first place to seek a Scandinavian origin of *Ruswarp*, especially since there is a very simple one.

In modern Scandinavian dialects the word *varp* (in some Norwegian dialects *verp*), n., means among other things "a heap of something thrown up or together, especially stones and twigs." Such cairns and twig heaps were thrown up along roads, especially at crossroads, in places where someone had died by misadventure or homicide. This was done as a protective measure against revenants or for some other reason. The heaps would sometimes grow into considerable proportions, and many still exist today. The word *warp* in this sense often occurs in Scandinavian place-names, some of which are of medieval origin. Obviously, the practice of throwing stones or twigs together in heaps is very old.[47]

In my opinion, the most probable origin of the English place-name *Ruswarp* is ON **hrísvarp*, n. "a heap of twigs thrown up (for some reason)." This interpretation has a strong support in the fact that the place in question is situated at a crossroad. Cf. *Webster's New International Dictionary*, 2nd ed., 1956, p. 632: "Formerly, in England, suicides were buried in such places, i.e. crossroads, with a stake driven through the body." This could perhaps be the reason for the name *Ruswarp*.

[47] About the meaning of the word see Aasen, *op. cit.*, p. 925; Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 889; J. E. Rietz, *Svenskt dialekt-lexikon*, p. 831; *Norsk riksmålsordbok*, Vol. 2, col. 3822; *Ordbog over det danske sprog*, Vol. 26, col. 643,– On folklore attached to the heaps, see A. F. Schmidt, *Danske Studier*, Vol. 26 (1929), pp. 40 off.; S. Erixon, *Fataburen*, 1929, pp. 117ff.; K. Frankman, *Skånes hembygdsförenings årsbok*, 1932; Olaf Hansen, *Maal og minne*, 1938, pp. 113ff.; C. M. Bergstrand, *Västergötlands Fornminnesförenings tidskrift*, 1936, *Hembygden* (Göteborg, 1936), pp. 83ff., *Folkminnen och Folktankar*, Vol. 23 (1936), pp. 71ff., Vol. 25 (1938), pp. 16ff., *Vår bygd*, 1937, pp. 53ff.

Already in 1912, Harald Lindkvist, *op. cit.*, p. LXII, disregarded by A. H. Smith and E. Ekwall, came very close to the same interpretation. He identified the first element with ON *hris*, n. "shrubs, brushwood" and the second with *varp*, n., in the sense of "something thrown together, amassed," but he thought that the name would signify "a piled-up heap of brushwood." In my opinion, the name has the more specific meaning indicated above.

Silverdale

In Warton parish, Lonsdale hundred, South of the Sands, Lancashire, is a village named *Silverdale*, located on Morecambe Bay. It is known in the following older forms: *Selredal* 1199 and 1246, *de Sellerdal* 1246, *Sellerdal* 1341, *Celverdale* 1292, *Silverdale* 1320–46, *Silverdale* 1382 and 1507.

H. C. Wyld and T. O. Hirst, *The place-names of Lancashire* (1911), p. 232, confuse old forms of this name with those of another name and suggest the explanation "the dale of Sigeweald, or Sigwarð." — John Sephton, *A handbook of Lancashire place-names* (1913), p. 38, who did not know all the older forms, reconstructed the name as **Selefrithdale* and assumed the first element to be an OE personal name. Neither of these suggestions is worthy of attention.

E. Ekwall, *The place-names of Lancashire* (1922), pp. 189f., gives the following interpretation: "Silverdale proper is no doubt the valley in which the church stands. The name simply means 'silver valley'. It refers to the silver-grey rocks that form a prominent characteristic of the place. Such lime-stone rocks are found especially in the high ridge N. of the church (called Silverdale Nab by West, Guide to the Lakes, 1778), at the cove near the sea where Cove Hall is, and in the hill E. of the church. No doubt these cliffs were formerly to be seen in more places than they are now."

In his place-name dictionary (*Dict.*, p. 403), Ekwall repeats this interpretation. A. H. Smith, *Elem.*, Vol. 2, p. 119, accepts Ekwall's explanation, and since he gives the second element as OE *dæl* he obviously regards the name as a native English **Seolfor-dæl*.

It is, however, as Ekwall points out in his survey of the Lancashire place-names (pp. 9f.), "impossible to decide with certainty" to what extent *dale* in this a area is English or Scandinavian. It is reasonable to assume that *dale* names in which the first element is

a native word contain *dæl*, while such names that have a Scandinavian first element -- there are many of them -- also have the Scandinavian word *dalr* as the second element. Ekwall adduces such obviously Scandinavian compounds as *Skelmerdale* (ON **Skjaldmarr*, a personal name), *Birkdale* (ON *birki*, n. "a birch-copse"), *Kirkdale* (On *kirkja*, f. "a church"), *Ulvesdale* (ON *Ulfr*, a personal name), *Bleasdale* (On *Blesi*, a personal name or Norw. dial. *blesa*, f. "a bare spot on a hill-side," Swed. dial. *bläsa*, f. "an opening between hills"), *Grizedale* (twice; ON *gríss*, m. "a pig," possibly in the function of a personal (by-)name), *Ewe Dale* (probably ON *ulfr*, m. "a wolf"). Ekwall also gives the information that the first element of names in *-dale* frequently is a river-name.

Ekwall evidently assumes that *v* facultatively disappeared in interconsonantal position, as for instance in OE *Elricus*, *Alricus* < *Ælfric(us)*, *Vlricus* < *Wulfric(us)*.[48] It is, however, conspicuous that the three *oldest* forms have no *v*. There is, then, a possibility that the name originally had no *v*, but that later association with *silver*, for which there in this case was good reason, caused the transformation. That has happened in other names, e.g. *Silverdale* in West Derby hundred, Lancashire (*Syfrethelegh* 1202, *Siuerdeleg* 1241),[49] *Silverton* in Devonshire (*Sulfretone* 1086 DB),[50] *Silverstone* in Northamptonshire (*Silvestone* 1086 DB; *Siulf* < *Sigewulf*).[51]

In my opinion it is plausible that the name *Silverdale* in Lonsdale hundred of Lancashire is a Scandinavian name, viz. ON **Sillrudalr*, the first element being the gen. of a name of a stream **Sillra*. This word would be the same as Norw. and West-Swed. dial. *sil(d)ra* (*d* is an insertion), f. "a very small book, a rill, a rivulet,"[52] closely related to Norw. dial. *silder*, n., Swed. dial. *siller*, n. "a small smooth-flowing brook or rill."[53] These nouns are derived from the verb Norw. and West-Swed. dial. *sil(d)ra* "to trickle, to flow in gentle stream."[54] *Sildra* as a name of small streams is known twice

[48] O. von Feilitzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 180, 424.

[49] John Septhon, *loc. cit.*, E. Ekwall, *The place-names of Lancashire*, p. 189, n. 3.

[50] Ekwall, *Dict.* p. 403.

[51] *EPNS*, Vol. 10, pp. 43f.; Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 403.

[52] Aasen, *op. cit.*, p. 650; *Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län*, Vol. 18, p. 14; J. H. Rietz, *op. cit.*, p. 564.

[53] Rietz, *loc. cit.*

[54] See, besides the works just quoted, Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 643; A. Torp, *Nynorsk etymologisk ordbok*, p. 579; E. Hellquist, *Svensk etymologisk ordbok* (1939), p. 899.

from Norway[55] and at least once from western Sweden, in the def. form *Sillran*.[56]

I have not been able to find a stream on the maps available to me, but such a small stream as indicated by the name is not likely to appear on any map.

I consider it possible that the name *Silver Beck* in Cumberland (*Siluerbeck'* 1285 and 1292, *Silver Beck* 1794), which by Ekwall, *English river-names*, p. 366, *EPNS*, Vol. 20, p. 29, and A. H. Smith, *Elem.*, Vol. 2, p. 119, is interpreted as "presumably" derived from *silver* and referring to clear water, is an original ON **Sillru-beckr*, although no form without *v* is known.

Galtrebusk

Galtrebusk in a manuscript from 1240 is the only form known of a field name in Nottinghamshire. According to *EPNS*, Vol. 17, p. 277, the meaning of this name may be "gallows-tree bush." Since *busk* evidently is the same word as ON *buskr*, m. "a bush, brushwood," it is likely that the first element also is Scandinavian, i.e. ON *galg(a)-tre*, n. "a tree used as a gallows."[57] Should it be native, we would have OE *gealg-trēow*.[58] The *-g-* would undoubtedly disappear in the middle of the three-consonantal cluster; cf. *Gawber* in the south-western part of Yorkshire, written *Galghbergh* 1304, *Galberg* 1379.[59]

Thus, the interpretation given is quite possible, but nontheless I am inclined to prefer another explanation which is simpler and therefore perhaps more plausible. I suggest that the name is OScand. **Galtar-buskr*, containing the gen. sing. of the personal name ON *Gǫltr*, m., ODan. *Galt*, m., the same word as the appellative ON *gǫltr*, m., ODan. *galt*, m. "a hog, a boar."

Galt has been recorded only once as a given name, viz. from the province of Skåne in southernmost Sweden,[60] earlier belonging to Denmark, but as a by-name it seems to have been frequently

[55] O. Rygh, *Norske Elvenavne* (1904), p. 211.
[56] *Sveriges ortnamn, Ortnamnen i Älvsborgs län*, Vol. I: 2, p. 14, Vol. 18, p. 119.
[57] Johan Fritzner, *op. cit.*, pp. 540f.
[58] C. W. M. Grein, *op. cit.*, p. 250.
[59] A. Goodall, *Place-names of south-west Yorkshire*, p. 144; Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 185.
[60] *DGP*, I. *Fornavne*, col. 336.

used at least in Denmark[61] and is known also from western Scandinavia, where the weak by-form *Galti* is more common both as a given name and a by-name.[62] Furthermore, and more important, it existed as a by-name in the Danelaw, from where a certain *Gilbert galt* from the 13th century is mentioned in the Hundred Rolls.[63]

There is nothing strange in the fact that a compound place-name ending in *-busk* has a personal name as the first element. *EPNS*, Vol. 17, p. 277, adduces from the same county two parallels, viz. *Alberdesbuske* and *Hastolfsbuskes*, both recorded in fourteenth century sources.

It is normal that the OScand. gen. sing. ending *-ar* in compounds appears as *-re* (besides *-er*) in medieval English sources, e.g. *Aismunderby* in Yorkshire: *Asmundrebi* 1086 DB, *Asmondreby*, 1311 (< OScand. *Āsmundar-*); *Amotherby* in Yorkshire: *Aimundrebi*, *Edmundrebia* 1086 DB, *Aymondreby* 1303 (< OScand. *Eymundar-*); *Londonthorpe* in Lincolnshire: *Lundrethorp* 1200–01 (< OScand. *Lundar-*); and many others.[64]

[61] *DGP*, II, *Tilnavne*, col. 320, lists 16 persons by-named *Galt*.

[62] Lind, *Binamn*, col. 98, 128; O. Rygh, *Gamle Personnavne i norske Stedsnavne*, pp. 78f.

[63] *Rotuli Hundredorum, tempore Henr. III et Edw. I*, *Record. Comm.* (London, 1812–18), Vol. 1, p. 440; Ch. W. Bardsley, *A dictionary of English and Welsh surnames* (1901), p. 306; Erik Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England in alt- und frühmittelenglischer Zeit* (= *Studien zur Englischen Philologie*, Vol. 37), p. 45.

[64] The names here listed were taken from H. Lindkvist, *op. cit.*, pp. 1ff.

Charles Dickens names his Characters*

KELSIE B. HARDER

NOVELISTS, AS WE KNOW, USE MANY METHODS to develop character and tone. Perhaps the simplest, say Wellek and Warren, is through the use of allegorical or quasi-allegorical names.[1] Practically all great novelists, including, surprisingly enough, even the moderns,[2] have given names to their characters that tell us about, predispose us toward, the characters and, as a by-product, the mind of the author. Charles Dickens was a master at concocting names with tonal and allegorical qualities; to be sure, he was following a long and honorable tradition in his method of choosing names when he chose them consciously, sometimes with malice aforethought.[3]

A study of names in Dickens's novels can take any one of several approaches: (1) Each novel can be considered separately and in chronological order; (2) linguistic studies of the names can be continued from the basic and excellent study by Elizabeth Hope Gordon; and (3) patterns in the names can be investigated to see

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[1] René Wellek and Austin Warren, *Theory of Literature*, New York, 1949, pp. 226–7.

[2] Note especially William Faulkner's Sartoris and Snopes families. Also Faulkner's allegorizing of names can be seen in the names of Reverend Hightower, Christian, Wallstreet Snopes, Vardaman, Bilbo, and I. O. Snopes, among others. James Joyce, Nelson Algren, Virginia Woolf, and John Dos Passos, as well as others, have used type-names.

[3] See Elizabeth Hope Gordon, "The Naming of Characters in the Works of Charles Dickens," University of Nebraska, *Studies in Language, Literature, and Criticism*, No. 1, 1917, a work that deserves wider circulation as an illustration of applying linguistics to a study of names. Three compilations of Dickens's names are available: Gilbert Ashville Pierce, *The Dickens Dictionary*, Boston, 1872; Arthur Lawrence Hayward, *The Dickens Encyclopaedia*, New York, 1924; and the best and most usable, Alexander John Philip, *A Dickens Dictionary*, London, 1928.

if they give insight into Dickens's attitudes toward objects, groups, and professions. I have arbitrarily chosen the third for this paper. The danger in this approach is obvious. The names are divorced from their settings, and the method may smack of intuitive holism, hasty generalization, or of plain arbitrary selectivity. But I will take the chance if only with the modest hope of indicating that an analysis of the name-patterns selected by a novelist will illuminate a few of his attitudes, otherwise not apparent.

Before proceeding to more serious name-groups, I should like to indulge in the ridiculous for a moment. In his novels Dickens has given names to at least twenty-three pet birds and to one bird fancier, Paul Sweedlepipe. With a name like Sweedlepipe, Sweedlepipe could hardly have been anything other than a bird watcher — he was, by the way, also a barber. The name is not without derogatory connotations. Now what names does Dickens give to the caged pets? Precedent, Rest, Ruin, Sheepskin, Spinach, Want, Waste, Wigs, Youth, Ashes, Folly, Gammon, Grip (a raven), Hope, Jargon, Life, Peace, Madness, Plunder, Cunning, Dust, Despair, and Death. Rather strange names for birds! I will say, superficially, that Dickens was not sentimental about birds. And to those who fancy the sweetness, tenderness, cuteness of birds, Dickens may have slipped a notch. Certainly this pattern does not coincide with our sometime picture of Dickens as a maudlin Victorian lachrymatory who pulled out all tear ducts at the sight of cuteness. The pattern seems to reveal that Dickens felt something occult about birds. Perhaps we should remember that it was the Age of the Raven though. It would probably be more appropriate to skip this estimate and proceed to the almost sublime, the realm of lords, ladies, and knights, English and otherwise.

The pattern here is not surprising, for lords never come off successfully in the hands of Dickens. But he is not merely derogatory; he is malicious in Mencken's or Pegler's best vituperative, pugnacious manner. I have tried to weed out the real lords, who, just the same, don't do well in the novels either. A fairly complete list follows: Sir Matthew Pupker, Sir Charles Rampart, Sir Giles Scroggins, Lord Slang, Baron Slappenbachenhausen, Count Smorltork (literary man), Lord Snigsworth, Hon. Wilmot Snipe, Sir Tumley Snuffim, Lord Lancaster Stiltstalking, Lord Stumpington, Baron von Swillenhausen, Lord Tenterden, Sir Thomas Tippins,

Lord Verisopht, Abadeen The Addled (Lord Aberdeen), Lord Decimus Tite Barnacle, Lord Boodle, Sir Dingley Dabber, Earl of Boozle, Sir Thomas Clubber, Lady Coldveal, Lord Coodle, Lord Dash Blank, Sir Leslie Dedlock, Lord Feenix, Sir Thomas Glumper, Sir Thomas Grimble, Sir James Hogg, Lord Knowswhom, Duke of Linseed, Baron Koëldwethout, Sir W. Jolterhead, Sir Arrogant Numskull, and Lord Mutanhead. Humorous, yes, but humorous in a pernicious way that brooks no love for the aristocratic class. The caricatures are not done with the rapier; the caveman's club is at work here. There is no subtlety or ambiguity in this pattern. It tells us in roundhouse language that lords are ignorant, arrogant, cold, sadistic creatures, and no mistaking it. The reaction is violent in the extreme, and takes on qualities of a phobia.

Pages from numerous commentators could be quoted to cite Dickens's love and concern for the lowest classes, such as servants, maids, waiters, slaves, hostlers, and the like. The name-pattern does not bear out this assumption. One would think that an author who indulges in characterizing-names for things he has a violent antithesis for would do the same for those he is supposed to love. As far as the lower classes are concerned, however, he does not. He does go beyond Jane Austen's habit of never mentioning names in this class, but not much beyond. Dickens condescends to give them the names that they probably had: Louis, George, Towlinson, Simon, Peak, Polly, Emmeline, Richard, Charles, Thomas, William, Sam, Dick, Hugh, etc. Little concern is manifested in this pattern. He is simply indifferent or neutral, indicating no special love or hate for this group as a whole. A close reading of the novels would prove this, I'm sure. Occasionally a servant will be given a revealing name, but then we find that he is a tradesman, professional man, criminal, or intelligent orphan fallen into misfortune. Dickens, if this view is accepted, despite his socialistic leanings, is strictly a novelist of the lower-middle and middle classes. One maidservant is named Phibb, another Snap, and still another Neckett, but these are the only three that seem to arouse any curiosity. No conclusions could be drawn validly from these occurrences as far as pattern is concerned.

Some groups do not figure too prominently, although the names seem to reflect Dickens's attitude to some extent. I shall explore a few of these. With Podder, Struggles, and Dumkins of the All-

Muggletonians, Dickens was having fun. Actresses — Miss Vining, Mrs. B. Wedgington, Miss P. Horton, Mrs. Mowatt, Miss Petowker — are not typed, and only Mowatt and Petowker have forms that might possibly make them memorable. Since the names probably reflected originals, actresses at that, Dickens used discretion. Similarly, actors also fare passably well, although Mr. Snittle Timberry, Mr. Waldengarver, and maybe Mr. Glavormelly indicate that Dickens found actors not without faults. But such names as Mr. Anderson, Mr. Baines, and Mr. Blackmore speak more for the general, unassuming name given to actors. The actors appear as human beings, not caricatures. On the whole, the attitude is a pacifistic one.

Artists and literary people are named humorously, if not scornfully: Spiller (painter), Jingle (sometime poet), Spoker (sculptor), Chiggle (sculptor), Overs (novelist), Crumlinwalliner and Dibdin (bards), Toppitt and Miss Codger (literary ladies), Mr. Curdle (literary man), John Spine (novelist), Mrs. Leo Hunter (bluestocking poetess), and there are, of course, Thomas Idle, Lawrence Boythorn, and Harold Skimpole, who are identified as Wilkie Collins, W. S. Landor, and Leigh Hunt respectively. The attitude here is definitely directed. Dickens perceived something a bit spurious, mercenary, and also pathetic in this field.

Several single names are revealing:[4] Sampson Titbull, founder of an almshouse; Seth Pecksniff, architect and land surveyor; Prince Bladud, founder of a public bath; Blackey, a beggar; The Bigwig family, a family of bigwigs; Brogley, a broker; Bumple, a brawler; Cherryble Brothers, cheerful people; Mrs. Distinguished Pardiggle, charity worker; Sloppy, a love-child; Banjo Bones, a comic; Prosee, a counsel; Pickles, fishmonger; Miss Knag, forewoman; Ebenezer Scrooge, a grasping man; Mr. Truefitt, hairdresser; Mr. Mopes, hermit; Mr. Mould, undertaker; O'Boodleom, Irish Member of Parliament; John Safe, engine-driver; Mr. Sunderland, mesmeriser; Mrs. Gamp, midwife; Thomas Gradgrind, millowner and educationist; Arthur Gride, moneylender; Mr. Monomaniacal, patriarch; Old Mr. Honeythunder, philanthropist; Parkes, ranger; Mr. Krook, dealer in rags and bones; Scarli Tapa, red tape, and Cashim Tapa, the money it costs; Mr. Grewgious,

[4] The descriptions following the names are in the main taken from Philip, *op. cit.*

rent-receiver; Mr. Pyke, a sharp-faced gentleman; Chevy Slyme, slimy person; Tom Smart, a smarty; Gruffshaw, great speaker; Bilkins, taster; Hubble, wheelwright; Reefawm, sultan's wife; and so on. These names mirror occupations and characteristics of the people; in addition, the spelling is akin to what we now call advertising spelling. The names, by their oddities in spelling and pronunciation, or by their pinpointing of caricaturing elements, attract the reader and are made memorable. They are not easily forgotten; they serve to keep serial magazine installments tied together — no need to search through back numbers to look for identifications for Mr. Krook, Mrs. Gamp, Podsnap, or Bumple. They carry themselves forward.

Bankers, bailiffs, and beadles aroused Dickens's ire. Mr. Merdle and Mr. Meagles, both bankers, have names that are not associated with dignity. Pomposity, fraud, and vulgarity gather force in the high-sounding names of Deedles, Bounderby, Maj. Banks, and Mr. Robbins. Bankers are not among Dickens's loves. Bailiffs are scorned with the names of Mr. Scaley, Mr. Fix, and Old Fixem. And beadles bring out direct hatred.[5] Ten times he pointedly omits giving a name to a beadle. When he does name them, they get something like this: Spruggins, Blogg, Bumble, and Bung. Beadles obviously do not rate high in Dickens's canon.

Girls do, however. Unfortunately they have the last names of type characters (men) already created by Dickens. Just the same, they manage to acquire Morleena, Angela, Carlotta, Julia, etc. Dickens was fond of the *-a* ending. In the Tapkins family are Antonia, Euphremia, Frederica, and Malvina. On the whole, Dickens bestows conventional names on the younger female sex, whether or not the characterization in the novel is favorable. By name, at least, Dickens never mistreats the young ladies. To misquote him: "Admiration of the fair sex is his ruling passion."[6]

On the other hand, dowagers and elder women have names that are often broadly satirical: Dowager Marchioness Publicash,

[5] *Little Dorrit*, ii: "If there is anything that is not to be tolerated on any terms — a type of Jack-in-office insolence and absurdity — that represents in coats, waistcoats, and big sticks, our English holding-on nonsense, after every one has found it out, it is a beadle."

[6] *Pickwick Papers*, i: "but the soul of Tupman had known no change — admiration of the fair sex was still its ruling passion."

Lady Snorflerer, and Lady Snuphanuph are indicative, along with Mrs. Bluebottle, Mrs. Alicumpaine, Howsa Kummauns, Mrs. Saggers, Mrs. Whimple, and Mrs. Wooden Leg Walk Blores. These are names attached without accidental connection to males whom he wanted to characterize. Elder women do not appeal to Dickens. He seldom gives them first names; when he does he calls them Abagail, Betty, Henrietty, Caddy, and Biddy, names calculated to connote overbearing, cantankerous old women.

The names of groups, societies, and companies always called upon Dickens's caricaturing power. There seems to be a persistent distrust of all organizations, a touch of malicous humor, a lot of broad satire, and a great deal of puncturing of pomposity and pretentiousness. First, there is the Mudfog Association and the Mudfog Papers, names based it is said on the Association of British Science and the abstract, obscure, pedantic, foggy, and learned papers read before it. Reflecting on this name, I wonder how Dickens would have pinioned current scholarly papers? "Speculations on the Source of the Hampstead Ponds, with some Observations of the Theory of Tittlebats," found in *Pickwick Papers*, may be indicative. The United Metropolitan Improved Hot Muffin and Crumpet Baking and Punctual Delivery Company is the name of a little outfit making up for its smallness with its big name. Then there is the Great Parochial Joint Stock Bank of Balderdash. Some titles are descriptive: Sheen and Gloss (mercers), Blaze and Sparkle (jewelers), while others reflect attitudes, such as Bilson and Slum (commercial house) and Charitable Grinders (a worshipful company). Societies of dogooders, censors, and fanatics are named sarcastically, perhaps to highlight the nonsensical characteristics of such organizations: Pre-Henry-the-Seventh Brotherhood, Society for the Suppression of Vice, Society of Welldoing, Teetotal Society, Grand Amalgamated Abstinence Society, and Child-Bed Linen Society, as though it seems certain that the abstinence society will fail. Anyway, might as well have the Child-Bed Linen Society available for emergencies.

Realizing the impossibility of exhausting the patterns here, I shall restrict the remainder of this paper to lawyers, medical men, schools, and professors. The pattern for lawyers, barristers, and solicitors reflects indignation and hatred for, what was apparently to Dickens, a grasping, hypocritical timeserving crew that meddled

in and entangled for selfish reasons the affairs of innocent people. Among solicitors are Peddle and Pool, Scroggins and Payne. Lawyers and barristers are discriminatingly named Snitchy and Craggs, Spithers, Snubbins, Stryver, Perker, Phunkey, Gulpidge, Vholes, Lightwood, Serjeant Buzzfuzz, Dodson and Fogg, Mr. Fips, Mr. Gablewig, and Mr. Grimwig. Only one, Mr. Wickfield, is drawn sympathetically. The names seem to connote pettiness, busyness, and, to play on one of the names, snitchiness.

Doctors, physicians, and surgeons draw humorous names, broadly caricatured without overtones of sarcasm or indignation. Conventional cartoon appellations are the order in this pattern. Among the surgeons are Sawbones, Sawyer, Slammer, Slasher, and Payne. In the doctor group are Sleek, Tumley Snuffem, Pilkins, Moon, Lumbey, Locock, John Jobling, Dr. Knight Bell, Dr. Porker Peps, Clatter, Callow, Buffer, Bayham Badger, Arnott, Toorell, Snagglewood, Dr. Soemup, Dr. Chillip, Dr. Fee, Dr. Foxey, Mr. Lewsome, and Dr. Kutankumagen.

A writer with imaginative sweep and poetic ability usually treats school and masters patronizingly. Dickens, however, goes beyond condescension; he sees schools as institutions perpetuating cruelty and schoolmasters as practitioners of sadism, bogey-men who clutch, maul, and beat helpless youngsters. Dotheboys' Hall, a bleak school, is aptly named, and the master is cruel Mr. Wackford Squeers, the whacking scourge of all ill-used boys. Gradgrind tells us much about the man and the vocational school he supervises. Dr. Blimber's School, Mr. Cripple's Evening Academy, Creeble's Boarding and Day Establishment, Ragged School, Nun's House, and even Dr. Strong's School, are schools whose names would not inculcate love for academic life. Schoolmasters and schoolmistresses have such names as Miss Pupford, Miss Brobity, Mr. Creakle, Biddy, Old Cheeseman, B. A. Feeder, Mr. Sharp, Miss Grimmer, Headstone, Mr. Humm, Mr. John Ketch, and M'Choakumchild, not lovable names but ones certain to inspire and instill terror in the most intractable. The School inspector, especially suitable, is Mr. Tufnell. This pattern suggests a naive, childish attitude that the author never grew out of. These are people seen from the child's point of view, a child who is probably sensitive and who cannot endure the restraint imposed by strict, indifferent masters.

The professor name-pattern is a non-academic conventional one. According to Dickens, professors are less than harmless drudges, cut ridiculous figures, are absent-minded, dozing fuddy-duddies. The pattern reflects middle-class sentiment: Professors Piper, Nogo, Grime, Dingo, Rummun, Queerspeak, Pumpkinskull, Wheezy, and Doze. Professor Mullit is a professor of education.

Dickens's names as units are interesting more or less as curiosities. In their settings they obviously type a character or object, or they give tone and atmosphere to the situation. Individually, they reflect an Al Cappish sort of waggery, often vulgar and grotesque. But when they are placed in clusters they exemplify something more serious, an unconscious attitude that works out and repeats itself over and over. The names, in a way, are analogous to spokes in a wheel, each different, but always leading out from the hub, a stable obsession or belief. Names, then, are Dickens's images and are metaphorical. In clusters they take on symbolic properties and can be justified as enriching the emotions of the reader when he becomes aware that the names not only type a character or occupation but also add to the understanding of the position of the novelist, in this case Dickens. Also pertinent to this conclusion, the names reflect the wit of the author, a point, although obvious, not usually credited to Dickens, who is displayed by critics as the ultimate in gross sentimentality.

Further conclusions can be inferred. The characterizing aptness of the names strikes the reader as a result of the context, and, in addition, predisposes the reader toward the character. Dickens could not have been the novelist he was without these names, which contributed so much to his popularity and somehow fixed forever in the English language such names as Gradgrind, Pickwick, Bounderby, Scrooge, Podsnap, Pecksniff, etc., names surviving as vocabulary through a period when his novels are not often appreciated critically or pleasurably. His novels may be out of step, but his names are not.

Youngstown University Kelsie B. Harder

Some Name Traditions in Epigrammatic Satire

C. GRANT LOOMIS

NAME-CALLING AND WORDPLAY seem to have gone hand in hand since earliest recorded literature. Analogous sounds suggest play of meaning. Names based upon personal characteristics frequently have innate satire. When satire found its way into brief pungent verses, headed either by a name-title or incorporating the name into the lines, we have one form, perhaps the most clearly recognized form of the epigram.

The *Greek Anthology*[1] contains the earliest large corpus of epigrams in the Western World. The range of its material makes inclusive definition very difficult. The variety of patterns include all known topics of short lyric verses. The oldest, perhaps the point of departure, lie in simple, at first, laudatory inscriptions, the ancestors of the serious epitaphs. The collection, however, contains both pagan and Christian proems, dedicatory, theological, declamatory, descriptive, hortatory, admonitory, invocative, convivial, and satirical representations, to say nothing of riddles, oracles, proverbs, and arithmetical problems. In most categories names appear. The complimentary verses were probably addressed to real persons, living or dead. Patronage poetry has an unbroken tradition down to modern times. Name-play and satiric name-usage form only a segment of the *Anthology*. True names as well as wordplay names appear in the uncomplimentary names. Actual persons may be referred to, or the implications may be disguised behind common or figurative associations.

The *Anthology* contains three specific epigrams (XI, 210, 222, 181) which depend for their points upon wordplay. Aulus, the cowardly soldier, a name which in the seventeenth century found

[1] The Loeb Classics served for sources for the *Greek Anthology* and Martial. For Owen, see *Epigrammatum Ioan Oweni*, Bresslau, 1668. Valentin Löber, *Teutsch-redender Owenus*, Hamburg, 1653. For the English poets, see Robert Anderson, *The Works of the British Poets*, London, 1795, 13 vols.

interpretation as a blower, boaster or wind-bag and may have had a similar suggestion in earlier times -- this Aulus feared war so much that he would associate only with persons who had peaceful names. He had for friend, Lysimachus, whose name meant "deliverer from battle." The two other names have impolite interpretations, one playing upon Chilon and the other upon Onios, a shortening of Antonios.

When the *Anthology* calls a very thin man, Marcus (he was so thin that he passed through a hole in an atom, and when he was blowing a horn, he fell in), we may have an ironic suggestion by contrast, since the root relates to Sanscrit *mar*, *mṛd*: to crush or break, and as a noun in Latin means a large hammer. The name was very common, and Martial used it several times in derogatory ways. In established Christian times, it was, for the most part, dropped from bad usage for obvious apostolic reasons. The *Anthology* (XI, 268) calls a man with an exceedingly long nose Proclus. When he sneezed, he could not hear his nose, it was so far from his ears. The Latin adverb, *procul*, means: at a distance; a great way off, but this is only a guess at a possible relationship.

The names are very numerous for those whom we may designate gently as light ladies. The names in the *Anthology*, with but a few exceptions, are different from those employed by Martial. Double implications are rare. Lembion and Kerkurion (V, 44), terms for small boats, offer possible wordplay. On the other hand, Thais, a famous Greek courtesan, seems to have received polite treatment in naming, in contrast to Martial's use of the name (IV, 12, 84; VI, 93). In Christian times, Thais was the subject of a religious romance, although the name kept bad connotations as late as the end of the sixteenth century in John Owen's epigrams (II, 124; IX, 97). As a generality, names of Christian saints do not appear in satiric epigrams.

The epigrams of the Latin poet, Martial, are of two kinds. They are either psychophantically obliging, frequently to a disgusting degree when we know something about the persons to whom they were addressed, or they were insultingly, obscenely biting when aimed at enemies and at real or fancied rivals. In the flattering compositions, real persons appear; in the derogatory ones, indications of caution seem to exist. Certainly Martial invited trouble if his attacks were not partially hidden by the anonymity of

common names or by protective double implications. A few illustrations seem to indicate such restraints. A certain Zoilus never comes off well. He smells to high heaven (II, 42); he is a thief (XI, 54); or he is several worse things (XI, 85; 92, XII, 54). The name has the general sense of a censorius person and refers specifically to an ill-advised critic of Homer. The name is used this way by John Owen for a bad poet (IV, 6). In the seventeenth century, the name applied to any person hostile to virtue. Martial called one of his drunkards, Acerra (I, 28), which means: incense-pot or smoke-pot. Perhaps our colloquialism "to be smoked" has a long ancestry. Caecilius, as a name, had an honorable place in Roman history. Martial's application to a blockhead or a fool, one who is blind, found safety in a general allusion. Similarly, Celer (I, 63) for a boring fellow, with its primary meaning of fast or speedy, suggests our usage when we call a slow-poke, speedy, in a fashion analogous to naming a fat boy "Skinny." To one who had lost his manhood, Martial gave the name Glytus, related to the adjective, glutus (soft), a fact which makes his intention obvious. Sotades (IV, 26), an obscene Greek poet, gave his name in Martial to a person of equally low morals. These suggestions may be sufficient to show that if we knew more about contemporary allusions and attachments, in other words, low-life semantics of Martial's Rome, we could comprehend many more double meanings.

The satiric epigram revived with many other classical forms during the Renaissance. The Martial mode dominated both in the inflated compliment with its grovelling search for patrons and in direct, derisive name-calling. In the sixteenth century, the corpus of the *Greek Anthology* seems to have contributed less to satiric traditions than it did to the host of other short lyric forms, especially in Weib-Wein-und-Gesang motifs. A majority of satirical name-usages seem to derive from direct Martial borrowings or from the employment of personalized Latin adjectives. The flourishing period, roughly from 1500 to 1700 found no Latin or vernacular poet who did not try his hand at the epigram with a sting. We note, however, an increase of caution. The broader Latin names concealed the actual person or objective of the verse. Both the laws of libel as well as the danger of the personal duel had their restrictive effect. Current given names appear but rarely in derogatory epigrams.

John Owen (1560?–1622) represents well the tradition as it existed about 1600. His cleverness was recognized throughout Europe, and he was translated widely into most Western vernaculars. His couplets and quatrains are about equally divided between compliments and barbs. In respect to the latter, he depended heavily upon Martial for names when he gave specific appellations. Otherwise, he hid behind a descriptive generality: "To a bald-headed man; To an atheist; to an adulterer," and so on. Frequently, the Latin names have taken on contemporary meaning, a designation not found commonly in classical dictionaries. Owen's fools: Cottula (I, 45), interpreted as "little ass," and Gaurus (V, 41), "vainglorious fellow" were recognized by his fellow-latinists. Those not so well-informed had in Valentin Löber's German adaptation of Owen an appended, explanatory list of names with their meanings.[2] Cuckolds, in addition to the obvious appellations of Corneus (I, 133) and Cornutus (IV, 53; V, 17), bear names of Pontius (I, 63), Ligurinus (V, 10), and Paetus (V, 65), which, according to Löber's list, meant merman, bad mouth, and leering eyes, respectively. His doctors, Linus (II, 123), a dauber or salve-smearer, and Cinna (V, 86), a drinkmixer, follow the same pattern. One quack he called Galenus (I, 15), by way of ironic allusion to the famous Greek, Galen. In similar fashion, a bad lawyer became Justinianus (I, 15), although he had no merits

[2] Other derogatory names in Löber's list are as follows (I keep his spellings): Albinus, Blasser, pale fellow; Apollonius, Schwartzkünstler, magician, dealer in black arts; Aretinus, Nachahmer, copycat; Attalus, Zärtling, delicate fellow; Ausonius, Widerschaller, echoer; Baldinus, Schwindeler, swindler; Barbonius, Rübenfresser, beet-eater; Camilla, reformirte Kuplerin, reformed go-between; Carolina, Fleischlich weib, fat woman; Cotta, das Haupt/per contrarium aliud, the head, by opposite allusion, something else (also Cottula, diminutive); Crassus, Dicker, a fat man; Dama, Kammerkätzgen, chambermaid (whore); Delila, Betlerin, beggar-woman; Epicurus, Schwelgebauch, wind-bag; Flaccus, Hangohr, droopy-ears (ass); Gellia, Lachmund, giggler; Gnatho, Vielfraz, glutton; Gorgonius, Schneller, by opposite, Fauler, Swifty for slow-poke; Hernicus, Frawenheld, play-boy; Labienus, Trulmaul, dirty-mouth; Leno, Hurenwirth, whore-master (feminine, Lena); Lesbia, Weinmäulchen, wine-guzzler; Moranus, alter Narr, old fool; Morus, Narr, fool; Naevia, Fleckchen, little spot; Oranus, Spermaul, big mouth; Pansa, Breitfusz, big (flat) foot; Pinotus, Sauffer, drunkard; Plotus, Flachfuss, flat foot; Placentinus, Liebediener, pimp; Possus (feminine: Possa), Verkaufer, seller (of love); Silius, Spötter, mocker; Tomasinus, Stück vom Esel, part of an ass; Zoilus, Tugendfeind, virtue hater.

comparable to the author of the Justinian code. Readers would catch the opposite meaning when another legal mind bore the name Fronto (IX, 19), broad forehead, when, actually, he was a low brow. Misers, Harpales (IV, 232), snatcher, penny-pincher, and Colinus (IX, 26), a stingy fellow, were recognizable from their names. Owen's Philopatri (I, 48), a lover of his country, is in an epigram about a coward. He loves his native land only when it is at peace. Numerous, similar names derive with their old or new secondary meanings either directly from Martial's models, or they are formed upon a basis analogous to his usage. They circulated freely among European Latin epigrammatists as common property. For a considerable time, the same names or their variants kept their place in vernacular epigrams before, finally, they succumbed to modern language translations, adaptations, or figurative wordplay. After 1700, visible weakening of originality is obvious. I trace briefly the English epigrammatists. The story for German, French, and the other Romance languages shows the same pattern as one may see by reference to the epigrams of Von Logau, Lessing, Boileau, Voltaire, Marini, and others.

Ben Jonson (1573—1637) was thoroughly familiar with the epigrams of classical origin. He made imitations from the *Greek Anthology* for his compliments, and he turned to Martial for his jibes. Many of his Latin epigrams are paraphrased directly from the latter. The same influence appears in his English creations. Compliments are to real persons; satire chooses concealing names, either of the Martial-type or of English typifying adjectives which suggest the primary or characterizing humor of his character. We are most familiar with this kind of creation in Jonson's plays. Volpone, the fox; Corvino a merchant-prince; Sir Politick Would-be, and so on. Shakespeare's fools are named in the same tradition. An oaf in Jonson's epigrams has the name of Groom Ideot. A medical man is Dr. Empirick. A century later Christopher Smart (1722—71) has a Dr. Drug. About the same time, Lessing writes about Dr. Klystill. A glutton becomes simply Gut. Great lovers are Pertinax Cob and Groyne. A merchant is Hornet because you get stung when you trade with him. A bad poet has the tag, Poet-Ape; a thief is Redway. Other satiric names are Lieutenant Shift, Sir Cod, Sir Voluptuous Beast, Don Surly, Sir Annual Tilter, Bank the Usurer, Old Colt, Sir Luckless Woo-all, Mungril, Esquire, Lippe the teacher,

Captain Hazard, the Cheater, to be only selective, not exhaustive. Such names protect the writer and leave to the reader the substitution of actual personal representatives for the fault castigated. From Jonson's time, such inventiveness does not find improvement. William Walsh calls his miser Gripe. Smart says simply Mr. Miser. A bad poet is Scribbletonius, which is not as good as Lessing's Meister Kauz or Master Screech Owl.

The nearer we approach our own time, the more gentle does the satiric epigram become. Both naming and wordplay grow into the ultimate of generalities. A last English illustration by James Smith (1775—1839) is characteristic. His daughter had asked for money:

> Dear Bell, to gain money, sure, silence is best,
> For dumb Bells are fittest to open the chest.

American journalists throughout the nineteenth century used many traditional patterns into which they packed their wordplay. A few examples will conclude this perspective. (Cf., my article, "Traditional American Wordplay: The Epigram and Perverted Proverbs," *Western Folklore*, VIII, 348—357). The memory of Ben Jonson appears in a few instances. Smug, the smith, is a drunkard. Dormouse, the preacher, puts you to sleep. Hungry Joe is a bunco-steerer. More commonly, however, specific allusion hides behind ordinary names: William Jones, John, Kate, Sue, and the like. Adam and Eve keep their place in verse satire, but prose has taken over sarcastic naming: a lawyer is shyster, mouthpiece, ambulance chaser; a doctor goes by pill-roller, saw-bones, quack; a rich man answers to money-bags, got-rocks, and so on. With our less-than-little Latin and no Greek, the classical tradition in epigrammatic satire has ended in vernacular slang and invective, where, after all, it began.

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GI Place Name in three Sectors of Korea

HOOD ROBERTS

ALTHOUGH PLACE-NAMING BY GI's in the combat zone might at first seem to be a haphazard affair, there are actually a number of general principles which determined not only which terrain features would be named, but also what these names would be. The place-names usually had some permanence, but they were occasionally changed by other units, and, therefore, I can assert only that the names presented below were those current in the U.S. Army Second Infantry Division during the period March 1952 to April 1953. The following place-names identified terrain features in the three front-line sectors occupied by the Second Division during this period; and, although this list is not exhaustive, it is fairly complete — the author's memory having been augmented by a few documents:

Alligator Jaws (friendly outpost): a descriptive name for two ridges which formed a V. When viewed on a map, the smaller ridge lines running from the inside of the V presented a serrated appearance. Thus arose the gnathic appellation.

Arrowhead Ridge (friendly outpost): a descriptive name for a ridge deriving its sagittate appearance from a sharp curve in the Yokkok-Chon River.

Arsenal (friendly outpost): probably a code name for a knoll at the base of T-Bone Ridge.

Betty Grable (enemy outpost): a descriptive name for a series of ridge lines parallel to our front. Elevations and depressions at certain points gave (especially when silhouetted at sundown) an appearance unmistakably feminine, if not supinely sensual.

Bull's-eye (friendly outpost): a descriptive name for a small, low hill with one trench encircling it just beneath the crest. Its target-like appearance and the frequency and accuracy with which it was used as one by Chinese mortars made the selection of the name twice-cursed.

Bunker Hill (enemy Main Line of Resistance):[1] a descriptive name for a hill with numerous visible enemy fortifications.

Camel's Back (enemy MLR): a descriptive name (dromedary, not Bactrian) for a large hill.

Checkpoint Easy (friendly outpost): the code name of a knob on a ridge line behind Old Baldy.

Death Valley: an apt albeit somewhat unimaginative descriptive name for a long valley which was under enemy observation and fire and over which supplies were transported to a company on the MLR.

Eerie (friendly outpost): probably a code name for a small knoll immediately behind Arsenal.

Hadacol Ridge (no man's land): *Hadacol* was easily folk-etymologized from the Korean place-name *Hasakkol.*

Hook (part of friendly MLR): a descriptive name for a curved ridge close to the enemy lines. The forward extremity of this ridge was known as the *Point.*

Hwachon Reservoir: a Korean place-name for a reservoir behind the enemy MLR.

Little Chicago (friendly outpost): a code name for a small knoll on the right flank of Old Baldy.

Little Gibraltar (friendly MLR): a large hill somewhat resembling its Mediterranean namesake. It was probably named by the British Commonwealth Division, which for long had occupied this position.

Monk's Hood Hill (enemy outpost): a descriptive name.

Old Baldy (friendly outpost): a descriptive name for a large hill. Prolonged bombardment had destroyed even the smallest vegetation.

Poke-eye Ridge (no man's land): *Poke-eye* was easily folk-etymologized from the Korean place-name *Pokkae.*

Porkchop Hill (friendly outpost): a descriptive name for a hill which presented an unmistakable porkchop shape when viewed on a map.

Silver Star Hill (enemy outpost): a commemorative name for an often-raided hill. The origin of the name was explained to me as, "That's the hill where Lt. Henry got his Silver Star [medal]."

Star Hill (enemy outpost): a descriptive name for a hill with an asteroid appearance when viewed on a map.

[1] Hereafter abbreviated MLR.

T-Bone (friendly and enemy outposts): a descriptive name for an extensive series of hills and ridges. The two friendly outposts, Arsenal and Eerie, were at the base of the T, with the remainder of the ridge in enemy hands.

Ten Sixty-two, 1062 (enemy MLR): a numerical designation of a very large hill. It was later named *Papa San* by another division.

Three Sisters (no man's land): a descriptive name for three small, closely-grouped, similarly-shaped hills.

Uncle (friendly outpost): the code name of a small hill.

Unnumbered Hill Number 188 (no man's land): a numerical designation for a small hill, around which took place much patrol activity.

Westview (friendly outpost): a later code name for Checkpoint Easy.

Yoke (friendly outpost): the code name of a small hill.

Yokkok-Chon River: the Korean name for a river which wound across the division front.

From the preceding list it may be seen that rivers and reservoirs were not renamed by our forces. However, that these objects were not renamed does not mean that GI's used the existing Korean names. Since these features did not exist in sufficient number to cause confusion, they were referred to simply as *the reservoir* and *the river.*

Towns and villages were identified by their Korean names in official communications, but otherwise this use of native place-names achieved little currency. One exception to this generality was the use of the name of the village of *No-Dong*, a name which seemed to capture the GI's Rabelaisian imagination. Valleys were rarely named and were usually designated by a reference to the high ground surrounding them.

Of all the terrain features, the high ground is the most frequently named, as a glance at the preceding list will show. Since these hills and ridges are usually the most conspicuous and important features, there arises a need for common references to them. This need is met in three ways: (1) designation by number, (2) designation by code name, and (3) designation by a descriptive term.

The first method (the official method) is to designate the hills by numbers which show their height (usually in meters). Since the elevations of high points are marked on military maps, this system

permits easy identification. Furthermore, it has the advantage of presupposing no familiarity with the terrain features themselves. Therefore, upon moving into new areas, units normally refer to hills numerically. That some sort of designation is necessary may be seen in the reference to one hill as *Unnumbered Hill Number 185.* This oxymoronic appellation stems from the fact that the elevation of the hill was not marked on the map and had to be interpolated from the map's contour lines. Unfortunately, numerical identification is seldom satisfactory. Some of its disadvantages are that: (1) a number is more difficult to remember than a name, (2) more than one hill can bear the same numerical designation, (3) numbers are easily transposed — especially when the situation is confused and the communication is poor, and (4) numbers are only slightly descriptive. Yet, occasionally a numerical reference will prove to be satisfactory. For a relatively long time Hill 1062 remained otherwise nameless, even after nearly all its neighbors had been named; but its onomastic resistance was apparently due to its height and its having one more digit than the surrounding hills.

Designation by code is the least important method. It is infrequently used, and the names are ephemeral. The names seem to stick only when the hills are tactically of little importance or when they have no striking peculiarities in appearance.

Designation by descriptive name is the most important method. It is probable that these names originate from two sources, depending upon whether the characteristic features of the hills are apparent on a map or from the ground. Hills named for shapes which become apparent when viewed from above are most likely named by those above, i.e., commanders or their staffs. For example, Porkchop Hill exhibits its distinctive shape only when viewed from above. It is likely that those hills whose characteristic features are visible from the ground are named by the groundlings, for example, Monk's Hood Hill and Old Baldy.

An analysis of the preceding list of place-names yields a number of conclusions: (1) Hills constituting part of the MLR are not often named. This is probably because the enemy MLR is not encountered as much as is the enemy outpost line and because the convenience of referring to terrain on the friendly MLR as "Company E's positions" or "Third Battalion's area" causes descriptive designations to be superfluous. (2) Outposts are given descriptive

names more frequently than any other terrain features probably because the largest amount of activity takes place around or on them. (3) The only native place-names likely to be put into any widespread use are those which are easily folk-etymologized, e.g. *Hasakkol* to *Hadacol* and *Pokkae* to *Poke-eye*. (4) Code names (often taken from the Army phonetic alphabet) are apt to be applied to smaller or less notorious outposts, e.g. Uncle and Yoke. (5) Time lag in the naming of hills is apparent in the names of *Old Baldy* and *Bunker Hill*. Old Baldy, which was once covered with vegetation, could scarcely have been named before sufficient bombardment had occurred to give it its distinctive barren appearance. Bunker Hill, of course, would not have received its name before enough time had elapsed for the construction of its numerous fortifications.

Although it was not a topographic feature, the forward medical aid station of one battalion had a descriptive appellation. It was known as *The Doughnut Shop* because its dealings were with perforated materials.

One observation of linguistic interest, which could not be derived from the list of place-names, is the effect that the serious purpose of war and familiarity of use can have on the connotations of certain words. During a briefing on a patrol action, for example, the average American male can sit almost impassively and listen to the denotations in a sentence, such as, "The patrol will proceed to the left tit of Betty Grable, move east past the groin, and return across the upper part of the thigh." That this sort of sentence can be heard and not occasion giggles, leers, or sly glances offers linguistic evidence that Sherman's appraisal of war was correct.

University of Wisconsin

European Personal Names given to the Eastern Indians

C. A. WESLAGER

In a paper published in 1944, I cited documents from the Maryland archives to indicate that, starting in 1704, and perhaps earlier, individual members of a band of Algonkian-speaking Choptank Indians began to be known by English personal names. An individual's former Algonkian name was used as a surname to which an English given name was affixed, e.g., Betty *Caco*, George *Attowcase*, William *Ahconepatokack*, Old Tom *Tisehouse*, James *Cohonk*, Bonny *Clabbo*, John *Quash*, etc. In some instances the Algonkian name was dropped entirely and the Indian was known by a single European given name, e.g., Dick, Little John, Presillah, Nancy, Abram, Six Pence, etc. As time went on, the Indian names were completely changed, and by 1799 individual Choptanks possessed both given names and surnames of European origin, e.g., Henry Mulberry, Mary Mulberry, Henry Sixpence, John Pike, Sarah Bishop, Tom Bishop, Thomas Owen, etc.[1]

There has come to my attention evidence of a parallel naming process found in the 17th century records of the Dutch settlement at and near present Albany, N.Y.[2] In 1678, a Catskill Indian whose native name was *Manueenta* and was "by the Christians called

[1] C. A. Weslager, "Wynicaco – A Choptank Indian Chief," *Proceedings* American Philosophical Society 87: 5, 1944, pp. 398–402. The names quoted above by no means exhaust those that could be found by a thorough search of the historical records. For example, on the Delmarva Peninsula in 1742 Indians from various tribes gathered together to plan an attack on the whites. Among the conspirators were John Wittonguis, Jeremy Peake, George Pokahaum, Robin Hood, Hopping Sam, and Bastobello, C. A. Weslager, *Delaware's Forgotten Folk*, U. of Penna. Press, Phila. 1943, p. 50.

[2] *Early Records of the City and County of Albany and Colony of Rensselaerswyck*, N.Y. State Library, History Bulletins, trans. Jonathan Pearson, revised and edited A. J. F. van Laer, Albany 1916, 5 vs.

Shermerhooren" sold a plot of land to white buyers.[3] In July of the same year, twenty Catskill and Mahikan Indians entered into a land sale to white buyers, and among these native vendors were, "*Tamongwes* alias Volkert .... *Papawachketik* alias Evert .... *Mamaetcheek* alias Joris .... *Kachketowaa* alias Cobus .... and .... *Unekeek* by the Christians named Jan de Backer."[4]

A deed dated 1684 also includes the names, both Algonkian and the Dutch given names, of the latter Indian referring to him as "*onekeek*, commonly called Jan de Backer."[5]

In 1682 one of several Esopus Indians selling land to a Dutch buyer was "*Usawaneek* alias Sheele [cross-eyed] Jacob."[6]

In 1685 a deed drawn up between whites and Indians included the names of "*Tataemshatt*, and Michiel his Brother by ye Indians called *Amesett*."[7]

An Esopus Indian during the same period was known as "Capt. Jan Bachter."[8] He may have been the same person as Jan de Backer although this is uncertain. The use of military titles, as pointed out in my 1944 paper, was also a practice among the Maryland Indians following white contact. Doubtless the whites applied the titles to chiefs or men of rank in the tribe.[9] It is unlikely that the Algonkian Indians used any titles except "sachem" and its equivalent.

Another Indian, whose Algonkian name was *Waspacheek*, is cited in the Albany records under his Dutch name, Speck or Spek.[10] The Indian "*Kashekan* alias Calkoen" was a co-seller with Speck.

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[3] *Ibid.* 2: 20. On p. 222 the same Indian is referred to as being "named Maweyntay and commonly Shermerhoorn." [4] *Ibid.* 2: 219.

[5] *Ibid.* 2: 222. [6] *Ibid.* 2: 161. [7] *Ibid.* 2: 281, 303. [8] *Ibid.* 3: 549.

[9] A certain Indian widow of "the late chief – who was called Colonel" was Mrs. Mulberry. She also bore the title of "queen." *Weslager, 1944.* Panquas, a chieftain of the Nanticoke tribe was known to the English as "Captain General and Commander in Chief." Another Nanticoke chief was called "Captain John," and the great chief of the Nanticoke was known to the English as an "emperor" a title that was also given to Powhatan in Virginia, see C. A. Weslager, *The Nanticoke Indians,* Harrisburg, 1948 (Penna. Historical Commission).

[10] *Early Recs. Albany, ibid.* 2: 84, 3: 556. A Delaware Indian living in the Philadelphia environs was also called Speck. His name was cited in 1644: *The Instruction for Johan Printz*, trans. Amandus Johnson, Phila. 1930, p. 246 and again in 1654: Peter Lindeström, *Geographia Americae* trans. Amandus Johnson, Phila. 1925, p. 128. The late Dr. Frank G. Speck, Professor of Anthropology, at the U. of Penna. used to speak facetiously of the Algonkian Speck as an "illustrious ancestor."

A New York chieftain was known by a Dutch name which appears among the signers of a peace treaty in 1645: "Willem, Chief of Tappaans."[11]

Many questions could be raised about these name changes, resulting from the impact of a more complex, invading civilization from Europe. The acculturation of the American Indian has been the subject of intensive study by the cultural anthropologist, but the literature is silent regarding the changes in personal names.[12] The examples I have cited show that the Indians borrowed, or were given, names by the Europeans with whom they had direct contact: the Algonkian names of the Maryland Indians started in 1704, and perhaps earlier, to give way to English names; in 1678 Dutch names in New York were beginning to replace Algonkian forms. Thus, it would appear that even before they gave up the use of their native language, the eastern Indians started to lose their personal names in favor of "given" names of European origin.

[11] *Colls. of the N.Y. Hist. Soc.* 2nd series, 1:275, N.Y. 1841.

[12] Typical of the anthropological treatment is William W. Newcomb Jr., *The Culture And Acculturation Of The Delaware Indians*, Museum of Anthropology, U. of Mich., 1956. Although an excellent treatise of the non-linguistic aspects of acculturation, Newcomb devotes less than two pages to linguistic assimilation and less than two pages to naming processes in aboriginal context. In the latter discussion (pp. 32–34) he makes no mention of the adoption of European names by the Delawares. Vernon Kinietz, *Delaware Culture Chronology*, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, 1946 devotes less than two pages (pp. 44–45) to name-giving among the Delawares, and the reader remains uninformed so far as aboriginal name-giving processes are concerned. Kinietz says nothing about the adoption of European names by the Delawares although he cites such informants as Captain Pipe, Captain Chipps, and Willie Longbone.

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The eighth annual meeting of the Society will be held on December 29, 1959 at Chicago. The president has appointed Mamie J. Meredith to be chairman of the program committee. Members who wish to read papers should communicate with Miss Meredith, at 2340 Sumner St. Lincoln 2, Neb.

Proper Names in Scottish Gaelic

ERIC HAMP

Few languages, if any, seem to show consistent formal linguistic markers characterizing proper names. Indeed, for the most part, the category which we conventionally term *proper name*, or simply *name*, seems to be defined not at all (or to a very limited degree) by formal linguistic criteria, but by a complex of correlates between the linguistic structure and the extra-linguistic systems (often called collectively the *semantics*) of a culture.[1] It is therefore a matter of special interest when we find a case where a high correlation exists between linguistic form and the category of proper name. It is even more significant when the distributional rules for the formal markers are extremely clear-cut and compact, i.e. when they affect very short morphological or phrasal units of homogeneous membership. Such is the case in Scottish Gaelic.

1. Nouns in Scottish Gaelic are maculine or feminine (defined by suffixal form-class and by concord); they combine with morphemes of number (singular, dual, plural) and case (nominative, genitive, dative, vocative). The state of affairs just enumerated applies to the most conservative dialects, typified by those of the Outer Hebrides, or Western Isles. Many dialects (such as those of the southern Inner Hebrides and much of the mainland) show only two numbers, singular and plural; after the morpheme *dáa*^{L}- "two," with which it combines to form a compound, the plural simply has a special allomorph. In these latter dialects case has a marginal or vestigial value, and many nouns show no variation; in many of these dialects it seems quite likely that the fossilized case forms are now synchronically nothing more than allomorphs (and usually optionally used in free variation, or as variants for different stylistic levels) which occur after certain particles and in attributive position. Despite these dialectal differences in structure, what is discussed below is not materially affected, and applies generally. For those

[1] I have remarked this in similar terms, *Romance Philology*, 9.348–9 (1956).

dialects lacking case entirely, it is probably safe to substitute for "genitive" the term "in attributive phrasal position." The preferred literary language resembles the conservative dialects in structure.

2. In the dialects showing case, the categories of both case and number are expressed within the same morpheme. These morphemes are suffixes, but their allomorphs often consist of very little phonemic substance in themselves. Very frequently they select allomorphs of the preceding stem which differ from the "basic" form by complicated morphophonemic rules affecting internal and final vowels and consonants; about half of their allomorphs cause elaborate morphophonemic replacement in the *initial* consonantism of a *following* attributive. Almost half of the case-number suffix allomorphs consist entirely of these morphophonemic properties that operate on the adjacent morphemes. There is no need here to go into the detail of these complex replacements. Suffice it to say that in essential stem-plus-suffix structure for the expression of case-number, a Scottish Gaelic noun shows the same broad lines, though in a bewilderingly strange and concealed garb, that many of us know from Latin and Greek nouns. We may now turn to the point of present interest.

3. In addition to the eight case-number suffix morphemes, with their many allomorphs, the inner-layer morphology of a Scottish Gaelic noun includes a *genitive* (or *attributive*) *prefix*. This prefix has a single allomorph which consists simply of a morphophonemic property of consonant replacement (a frequent grammatical mechanism in the language) that operates on the initial of the stem. We call this property *lenition* and symbolize it by ^{L}; the prefix in question, then, has the shape $\{^{L}\text{-}\}$.

The facts of distribution for this prefix in the dialect of Leurbost (Isle of Lewis)[2] are as follows: $\{^{L}\text{-}\}$ occurs with 1. all genitive plurals when neither the article nor possessive prefix is present, and 2. obligatorily with the genitive singular of a subclass of masculine nouns. We may aptly call this subclass *grammatical masculine names*.

An alternative analysis for Leurbost is to consider the occurrences of ^{L}- with the genitive plural as a discontinuous portion of the

[2] See the excellent description by M. Oftedal, The Gaelic of Leurbost (A Linguistic Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland, Vol. III · NTS Suppl. Bind IV), Oslo 1956, esp. pp. 181–2.

allomorphs of the genitive plural suffix. This analysis seems preferable on other grounds, too, since it enhances the symmetry and solidarity of an otherwise skewly distributed opposition for the genitive plural. The prefix {L-} now occurs only with the genitive singular of *grammatical masculine names*. We may call this the *masculine name prefix*.

In other dialects (e.g. parts of Mull, and generally in Islay, Jura, and Gigha) this prefix is applied to attributive feminines as well as masculines. For such dialects we may speak of *grammatical names* and a *name prefix*.

Thus, the sublcass *grammatical* (*masculine*) *names* is defined by purely formal linguistic criteria: the occurrence of the genitive singular with the prefix {L-}.

4. It is of interest to note that the semantic category of *proper name* in Scottish Gaelic does not coincide with that of *grammatical name*. Apart from the exclusion of feminine *proper names* from the subclass above described, there are further exclusions in Leurbost. Place names that consist of appellatives, i.e. grammatical nouns or noun-phrases which also occur with other semantic correlates, do not take {L-}. In other words, just as with the English house-name of the type *The Lodge*, it is impossible to distinguish these instances from those where the same grammatical construct has a more general meaning, other than by reference to configurations outside the linguistic system.[3] Masculine proper names of places whose morphemes have no other semantic reference in Leurbost, on the other hand, take {L-}, and hence are *grammatical masculine names*.

We need not here take close account of the fact that masculine names of modern English origin sometimes lack the prefix {L-}. This may be regarded as a potential transition from one system to another, and later generations will more adequately describe the succeeding system.

Thus, even though Scottish Gaelic does not formally mark all proper names as such, a significant subgroup receives overt linguistic recognition through a unique and compact mechanism.

The University of Chicago

[3] On such constructs, in relation to the totality of English nominals, see most recently Arthur Norman's discussion of the subclasses of the English nominal, *American Speech* 33.83–9 (1958).

Louise Pound 1872–1958

Doctor Louise Pound, Professor Emeritus of English at the University of Nebraska, died at her home in Lincoln June 28, following a heart attack, two days before her eighty-sixth birthday. She was a member of the sponsoring committee of the American Name Society and served on the Board of Managers from 1952 to 1956. She refused with regret the nomination as *ANS* president in 1956. An interest in names was a part of her linguistic study. "The Naming of Characters in the Works of Charles Dickens," the masters thesis of one of her students, Elizabeth Hope Gordon, was Number I in University of Nebraska Studies in Language, Literature, and Criticism, 1917.

Dr. Pound published "American Indefinite Names" in *American Speech*, VI (April 1931), 257–9, and as senior editor of the journal from 1925 to 1933 accepted many articles from contributors on the nomenclature of persons, places and things. She reviewed in *American Literature*, VII (March 1935), 119 *Florida Place-Names of Indian Origin and Seminole Indian Names* by William A Read; and *Arizona Place Names* by Will C. Barnes, VII (January 1936), 489–90. The *Virginia Quarterly Review*, XXI (Summer 1945), 452–6, carried her review of George R. Stewart's *Names on the Land*, first edition.

Louise Pound completed fifty years of teaching at the University of Nebraska in 1945, with occasional summers as visiting professor at California, Chicago, Columbia, Stanford and Yale. She taught all the courses offered in the English department at the University

of Nebraska: Old English, Middle English, phonetics, and English literature and literary history. She was a pioneer in teaching American literature and language when few universities here or abroad had undertaken such studies.

Who's Who in America, 1956–7, summarized Louise Pound's achievements as scholar, author, teacher, editor, folklorist, public servant, and sportswoman, in nearly five inches of fine print. The twelve-page Bibliography in *The Selected Writings of Louise Pound* (University of Nebraska Press, 1949) listed her publications to that time. In the Foreword to the volume, the late Arthur G. Kennedy of Stanford commented upon "the surprising range and multiplicity" of her publications and "the true quality of her research and production." She continued to contribute articles on linguistics and folklore to the time of her death. "Studies in Nebraska Folklore," a collection of her articles in *Nebraska History* and other journals, is in preparation at the University of Nebraska Press.

A section in *The Selected Writings* consists of "Professional Societies, Activities and Honors," though the story of each is continued for eight years thereafter. In 1955 she was the first woman elected to the Nebraska Sports Hall of Fame. In the same year her professional career was climaxed by her election, at 82, as the sixty-fifth president of the Modern Language Association, the first woman thus honored.

Mr. William Riley Parker, MLA Secretary while Dr. Pound was President, wrote for the April 1955 issue of PMLA, Vignette XXVI, an appreciation which can not be bettered in picturing the erudite scholar whose human qualities overshadowed her brilliance. Dean Roscoe Pound's tribute to "My Sister Louise," on the front page of the Boston *Sunday Globe* of June 30, 1957, on her eighty-fifth birthday, gave full value to her academic, literary, civic, and sports achievements. But he placed above these Louise's "championship of every worthy educational enterprise." Both parents, Judge Stephen Bosworth Pound and Laura Biddlecombe, were of Quaker descent. Both had been school teachers for a time before they married, he said. Mrs. Pound taught at home her three children, Roscoe, Louise and Olivia, because in the pioneer community "at first there were no schools at hand." The children were then able to enter the Latin School, preparatory to the State University, where they were taught by the professors. Certain it is that Dr.

Pound felt more pride in the accomplishments of her students than in her own. Her influence extended far beyond the classroom. Students from abroad as well as from many parts of the United States found her ready to suggest suitable subjects for study and definite sources for development of them. She took most satisfaction in the positions in which she could further the professional careers of young people, such as her appointment to the Advisory Council of the Guggenheim Foundation, 1928–32.

The American Association of University Women was closest to her heart. Her first appearance on an AAUW program was in June 11, 1901, when she spoke to the Lincoln branch on "Graduate Work in Heidelberg, Germany." She had just received her doctorate there *magna cum laude* after only two semesters of resident study. She was a member of the committee on fellowship awards 1935-37 and national vice president 1937–45. The Nebraska Division of AAUW in 1946 established the Doctor Louise Pound International Study Grant and since 1950 desewing women scholars from abroad have been enabled to prepare themselves better in the United States for work with women and children in their homelands, and further international understanding.

The many letters received by Olivia and Roscoe Pound following the death of their sister speak often of the encouragement and wise counsel given the writers in their professional work — "above that of anyone else." Another recurring thought was that of the continuing influence of Louise Pound, expressed in the following words by Mrs. Robert Lasch:

"For all of us, her students and her friends, she is truly immortal. Every day for as long as we live we will see her influence expressed in innumerable ways and the ideas that she implanted in us reflected in turn by our children and students."

Louise Pound Memorial Committee
Kemp Malone
Elsdon C. Smith
Mamie J. Meredith, Chairman

Review

Americanization of German Surnames and the Related Process of Changes in Europe

Changes in Europe. By Frederick Walter Hilbig. ([University of Utah Master's Thesis] Salt Lake City, 1958. Pp. 83).

The book is a mimeograph-reproduction of the author's M. A. thesis. Its intentions are: 1. to encourage the compilation of a dictionary of Americanized German surnames; 2. to acquaint the genealogists in Germany with this American surname problem; 3. "to enable bearers of Americanized German surnames to learn the etymology of their names and the equivalent modern High-German (or Low-German) spelling of the same, and to make people aware of their true national antecedents." It is not exactly clear to me how these aims are thought to be fulfilled by the present work.

In spite of the author's statements concerning methodology, most of which are, it seems to me, quite well taken, methodology is cast to the four winds in the actual gathering and interpretation of data. On page 1 it is pointed out that many people are not aware of the origin of their surnames, and that statements by informants as to such origin are not to be trusted. Nevertheless, he is later willing to accept informants' statements (in the guise of biographies in post office directories) concerning the origin of their names. Although he makes the statement (p. 11) that "no authentic etymology of a given surname can be attempted without a thorough investigation of its history on genealogical principles," no such investigation, as the author admits, is attempted for the names he discusses. Thus, German origin is assumed for names which may actually be Dutch or English, for example. The data was collected by going through city directories, telephone directories, etc. and extracting those names which seemed to the author to be of German origin. No statement of methodology concerning the manner of etymologizing is given, but it seems obvious that names were connected with each other whenever it seemed plausible to the author that they were of the same origin. Thus, *O'Meyer* and *Obermeyer*, *Abendschein* and *Ovenshire*, *Argenbright* and *Erkenbrack* are connected without any discussion as to the reason for such a connection.

The book contains an interesting chapter on "Changes of Surnames within the German Languages," taken for the most part from the usual reference works, and an appendix in which the names are arranged according to their alleged derivation and are etymologized. In spite of the objections raised in this review, the book may be of use as a collection of materials, and, with a thorough reworking in accordance with proper methodological requirements, requirements recognized by the author, it could represent a sound contribution to German-American onomastics.

James W. Marchand

University of California (Berkeley)

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TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1958

Income:

Dues collected in 1958	$ 3182.00
Sale of copies of NAMES	432.00
Sale of Pulgram pamphlet	52.76
Sale of Gudde, "Significance of Names . . ."	1.50
Income from advertisement	35.00
Contributions	85.00
	$ 3788.26
Balance carried forward from 1957	1212.59
	$ 5000.85

Expenditures:

Printing of NAMES	$ 2000.00
Mailing and supplies, Editorial Office	255.46
Mailing and supplies, Executive Secretary-Treasurer's Office	118.84
Bank charges and corporation fee	8.00
Promotion expenses, Membership Committee	184.97
Ballot expenses, Nominating Committee	50.00
Refunds on overpayments	4.00
	$ 2621.27
Cash on hand, December 31, 1958	$ 2379.58
	$ 5000.85

Respectfully submitted

Fritz L. Kramer

Treasurer

A Contribution to the Study of Greek Toponymy. I*

DEMETRIUS J. GEORGACAS

Dedicated to
Dr. George W. Starcher

This study was conceived as a systematic treatment of all the names for one toponymic unit that are known in the Greek tradition; an attempt is made to discuss pertinent problems and to clarify matters, as far as our data make it possible. Since such a study has not previously been undertaken, to my knowledge, it is hoped that this will prove stimulating to onomatologists. In this first paper, besides the discussion of some principles in onomastics, the earliest names designating the peninsula of the Peloponnesus are discussed, in a second paper the ancient name Πελοπόννησος, and in a third post-classical, medieval and modern names will come under discussion.

*

Sound theorizing in onomastics should be, in my opinion, the result only of detailed investigation of sets of names and even of single names, for the principles of onomastic research have to be applied in such cases of exhaustive research.

I. MULTIPLICITY OF NAMES, A PRINCIPLE IN ONOMASTICS

In human society persons, peoples, and places experience not only naming but also double naming, and, as a consequence of loss of a name, renaming. The result, being a cumulation of single namings at the same time or, more frequently, at different times

* It is my pleasure to express to the Faculty Research Committee of the University of North Dakota, which was established by President George W. Starcher on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the university in 1958, my deep appreciation for a faculty award for research, of which the present study is part. I am also thankful to Dr. Edmund Berry (University of Manitoba) for reading the manuscript and making helpful suggestions.

for one person, for one people, or for one place, is *multiplicity of names*, a term I coin for this specific process of naming. Multiple name-giving as it is observed in practice is of fundamental importance for the classification of names, theoretical considerations, and for the inner interpretation of sets of names.

A. — *Personal Names.* — A person may have one, two, or more given names, as is well known. During one's lifetime one or more nicknames may be imposed on a person. One may inherit his family name and later modify it or couple it with a second name or abandon the old for an entirely new one. The new name may be a name used by others as a nickname.

B. — *Peoples' Names.* — In the case of groups of people or peoples, similar experiences are observed. Some communities or peoples have several names, according to the neighboring peoples who often are the name givers and usually coin nicknames for them. The Gypsies are known under various names: Ital. *Tsingani* (German *Zigeuner*), Greek Ἀτσίγγανοι, Greek Αἰγύπτιοι and mod. Gr. Γύφτοι, Engl. *Gypsies* (all three 'Egyptians' as having come from Egypt), mod. Gr. Κατσίφελοι, French *bohémien*, Old Spanish *Aegypsiano*, Span. and Portuguese *Gitano*, etc. The semi-nomadic populations in the Balkans known in their own Romance dialect as *Armân* (= Lat. *Romani*) are called Βλάχοι and Κουτσόβλαχοι by the Greeks, *Tsintsari* by the South Slavs, *Gogă* by the Albanians, *Čoban* by the Turks.[1] A classical example is the name for the *Deutsche*: *Němĭci* Slavic 'the speechless' ones — (1) foreigners, and especially (2) Germans, *Allemands* for the French, *Germans* for the English speaking peoples and similarly for others. This is exactly the case with the ancients; e. g. Ἕλληνες was the name for the Greeks but they were called *Graeci* by the Romans. But even in the very language of a people two or more ethnic designations may be in use; e. g., ancient Greek Ἕλληνες, later Γραικοί, Ῥωμαῖοι and so in modern Greek *élines*, *γrekí*, *romjí* but the latter at different levels and with varying content or connotation (Ἕλληνες official, Ρωμιοί colloquial, Γραικοί obsolescent).

C. — *Place Names.* — Places may acquire two or more names either in succession or even at approximately the same time. The

[1] Cf. J. Van Coppenolle, "A la Memoire de Theodor Capidan, Les Macédo-roumains, Ethnographie, Histoire, Langue," *Orbis* 7 (1958) 265.

givers of such place names are several: either people of the same language but of chronologically different stages or people of different speech who happened to live on or near the place at each time.

An example of the latter class is the number of names applied to one and the same watercourse which passes through the lands of different peoples. Those who dwell near one stretch of the river may be responsible for the local name of the long river which runs through several countries. This state of affairs even provides the investigator with hints and clues as to the method of interpreting such names, when he is aware of the languages of the peoples dwelling near the banks of such a river. Let me mention the case of the Danube river, which is known in the Balkan east as Ἴστρος, a Thracian designation meaning 'rapid' and connected with such river designations as Celt. *Isarā* = *Isar*, *Isère* (from **isros*: Skt. *iṣirá-*, Gr. ἱερός both 'hurrying, rapid, etc.': Gr. ἱεροὶ ποταμοί),[2] and the more widespread name Lat. *Dānuvius*, Old Church Slavic *Dunavъ*, Gothic **Dōnavi* (hence Greek Δούναβις), Middle High German *Tuonouwe*, New High German *Donau*, Old Cymrish *Donwy*, Roumanian *Dunăre*. This name seems to be of Celtic origin from a noun **dānu* 'river', which has correspondences in other Indo-European languages: Greek -δανος in the river names Ἀπιδανός and Ἠριδανός, Thracian *Sandanus*, Skt. noun *dānu* n., Avestan *dānu-* 'river', Osset. *don* 'river'.[3]

How several names arise for rivers from one original source is shown by the following example. The loan adaptation of the Caddo

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[2] Cf. OHG gloss 3.610 *Ister danobia*. Cf. P. Kretschmer, "Danuvius und das Geschlecht der altindogermanischen Flußnamen," *Mélanges H. Pedersen* (Copenhagen 1937 = *Acta Jutlandica*, IX), p. 83.

[3] Cf. M. Förster, "Der Name der Donau," *Zeitschr. f. slav. Philologie* 1 (1924) 1–25, 418; idem, *Der Flußname Themse und seine Sippe* (Munich, 1941 = *SB. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., philos.-hist. Abt.*, Jahrg. 1941, Bd. 1), 141–48, 193–97, 606–08, 846 [Celtic *dānu* 'river']; P. Kretschmer, "Zum Balkan-Skythishen, 1. Der Name der Donau," *Glotta* 24 (1936) 1–11; idem, *Mélanges H. Pedersen* 76–87 [The Celts formed the name with the Celtic suffix *-uwio-* after having taken over the originally Iranian-Scythian name of the river, i.e. the reconstructed form would have been **Dānuwios* as a name of a river god and for Gallic *Danovia* → Cymr. *Donwy* as a feminine **Dānuwiā*, name of a river goddess. Förster argues against Kretschmer's theory.] Cf. also F. Solmsen, *Indogermanische Eigennamen als Spiegel der Kulturgeschichte* (Heidelberg, 1922), 44 [on the *Danube*], 49 [on Ἴστρος].

Indian word *kanohatino* 'red river' has given rise to the name *Red River* in the state of Louisiana (U.S.A.) and *Colorado River* in south central Texas (Span. *colorado* standing for 'red'). On the other hand, it has produced the name *Canadian River* or *Canadian Red River* for the river that starts in northern New Mexico and flows across Texas into Oklahoma and, as the *North Canadian River*, joins the Arkansas; it was known as *Canadiano Rio* on a map (1828), and *Rio Canadiano* and *Rio Rojo* 'red river' (both latter names occurring in Spanish land titles). All these 'Canadian' names are also transformations of the same Caddo Indian word *kanohatino* 'red river'.[4]

The term *multiplicity of names* used for a region, a place, a river, etc. may, strictly speaking, be a misnomer because in most cases one and the same group of people generally do not make use of multiple names for a given region, place, etc. at one given time. On the other hand, in a comparative or historical examination of the names of a given region or place or river etc. *name multiplicity* and *multiple names* are actual and valid. For we find that one and the same mountain or river or island etc. may have one name in one language and another in another neighboring language; examination of such multiple names often provides the onomatologist with a handy interpretation of these names, one often being a loan-translation of another, earlier name. In a historical investigation of the names of a given region, place, etc. it is found that in the passing of time a certain name undergoes linguistic changes within the same language that make the name appear as different names in the historical development; or altogether different names are used for the same place unit at various periods of time. The result then is a historical *multiplicity of names.*

Here is involved also method in onomastic research. Whereas dry etymologies of names without consideration of the history of the names concerned are often worthless, conversely the treatment of a class of place names or even of one single name within its class and the simultaneous attempt to build up the history of the names, insofar as this is feasible, is methodologically significant and fruitful in results for the specific language and for general onomastics.

[4] See T. M. Pearce, "The New Mexico Place-Name Dictionary: A Polyglot in Six Languages," *Names* 6 (1958) 219f.

II. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NAMES OF THE PELOPONNESUS

Whereas the study of names in general is important for onomastics and sheds light on language, history, prehistory, ethnology, folklore, etc., some names are more important for historical and cultural reasons than others.

The inquiry into the names for the Peloponnesus is important in Greek onomatology as such but — more than that — for the prehistory of the peninsula and the ethnological problems involved. Aside from this, since the peninsula has played a continuous role in the history of Greece, ancient, medieval, and modern, other fields, such as archaeology, history, mythology, literature, are interested in its names. For in antiquity the peninsula was the heart of Hellas, remained the main cradle of the Mycenaean (Hellenic pre-classical) civilization, and as a political and cultural force it was later second only to the Athenian; the topographical position of the peninsula assigned to it, as Strabo (8. 1. 334) observed, its hegemony. It played an equally important part during the middle ages and more so when it became the site where the Greeks' desperate fight for liberation from Turkish domination exploded in 1821.

When dealing with ancient place names the problems of the investigation are at times more complex; e. g., if an ancient name has survived in the later, historical periods but then was lost, it has to be located with the aid of historical geography and archaeology; if it has survived, the forms surviving have to be explained within the language or outside it by ascertaining the influence of other languages.

III. THE ANCIENT NAMES OF THE PENINSULA OF THE PELOPONNESUS

In the first part the ancient names for the Peloponnesus are treated as they have been transmitted to us, both earlier or prehistoric names and those recorded in the historical and literary tradition.

A. — THE EARLIEST OR PREHISTORIC NAMES AND AXAÏA-ACHAIA

A general remark concerning prehistoric names is in order here. The layman (who may be a specialist in another field) usually has too little understanding of the refined linguistic and onomatological method

and their method of treating prehistoric names. His attitude, loaded with suspicion, does not allow him even to try to follow such work. It should be noted however, that this is always the case in other fields as well, e.g. with new discoveries. Work should be carried on by specialists regardless of the adverse attitudes of today's outsiders. It is, however, possible that the attitude of classicists, archaeologists, and historians toward this kind of linguistic-onomatological work is not altogether unjustified.

Prehistoric linguistics (as well as prehistoric archaeology) should be as factual and realistic as possible and not unduly imaginative. The scholar has, when he speculates on the basis of the scanty material at his disposal, to stress that this is sheer speculation and therefore an item subject to refutation, drastic modification, etc. by future study or discoveries.

Combinations, frequently ingenious but too daring, made by linguists and onomatologists in order to find a probable or possible interpretation of such a name must be considered, in most cases, tentative and can, in most cases, be only that. The main reason is that what we actually possess of the largely unknown prehistoric languages called Prehellenic or Pelasgian is a few scraps of evidence, and these not directly transmitted except through other languages such as Greek, i.e. transformed, so that we do not know to what extent their preserved appearance is due to the transmitting language. E.g., Ligurian, Illyrian, Thracian, and Germanic names in Europe were transmitted to us only through Greek and Roman sources, so that we have to take into account the possibility of transformations from the original language to the Greek or Latin languages, though of course the rendering of foreign names in Greek or Latin follows certain patterns as to their terminations.[5] Thus, the Illyrian river names cannot always be easily separated from the Thracian ones in the East, from the Italic in the Southwest, and from the Celtic in the Northwest.[6] In general, to reconstruct conditions existing or languages spoken in the third or second millennium B. C. from material drawn from classical Greek sources seems to be an unreliable procedure, if other data do not concur. So, many towns with an *-ss-* or *-nd-* name in Caria and Lycia were founded during the Middle Iron Age (beginning ca. 850 B. C.) or

[5] Cf. J. Melich, "Über slavische Flussnamen fremden Ursprungs," *Zeitschr. f. slav. Philol.* 9 (1932) 92f.; P. Kretschmer, *Mélanges H. Pedersen*, p. 83.

[6] Cf. Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*

well within the classical period and so bear no relation to conditions in the Bronze Age.[7]

If a linguist, therefore, takes the attitude that there are no unaccountable factors in the transmission and "explains" a Prehellenic name as if the unknown language were a historical language, he uses a misleading method and may only deceive himself and his audience. Such an operation is based on an easy but faulty assumption that the few relics of names are all explicable, contrary to the obvious fact that the reconstructed prehistoric languages are 99.99% unknown to us and, therefore, the material preserved of them, assigned to them, and handled by the investigator may not pertain to them or may have undergone changes unknown to us or may be inexplicable by any of the methods applicable. An old text like the Homeric epics has been studied for more than a century now as to its dialectal mixture and yet no solution has been found yet; how can one be positive about earlier situations with no clearcut data?

In addition, many of the linguists working with prehistoric languages have no training in work with contemporary languages, in which alone the linguist may learn extreme caution; even spoken languages of today possess a large percentage of words and names that defy satisfactory explanation. What safe ground is there for assuming that every scrap of names of unknown prehistoric languages is explicable? Or what, in the final analysis, would our knowledge gain from mere speculative theorizing and slippery combinations of scanty material such as an ingenious setup of correspondences of sounds, mutations, ablaut varieties, asterisked forms etc., within the very limited vocabulary material at our disposal, that may figure attractively on paper but will lie unconfirmed forever? The sheer lack of data, unsurmountable as it is, should always be kept in mind as being a limitation in prehistoric linguistic and onomastic research and should create reasonable caution and a forthright admission that some names defy explanation; that is also part of our knowledge. Explaining too much and oversimplifying unknown complex prehistoric conditions, as if there were no lacunae in our meagre data, which means proving too little or nothing and going in a wrong direction.

The early names recorded for the peninsula south of the Corinthian gulf are Ἀπία, Πελασγία, and Ἄργος, and one which is of

[7] James Mellaart, "The End of the Early Bronze Age in Anatolia and the Aegean," *American Journal of Archaeology* 62 (1958) 22 with note 148.

the post-classical but pre-Christian period, Ἀχαΐα. The question arises whether these names were real, used by the people of the ancient times, or whether they were coined by literary creators and were so used by other authors continuing the literary traditions. Confirming evidence for the general use of such early names can be gained from inscriptional records. The problem may not be solved summarily but the usage of each name is to be discussed on its own merits. From what can be said after the careful examination of the facts the following seems to me probable.

The name Ἀπία is a literary name for the peninsula, perhaps never used by the people when speaking of the peninsula.

The term Πελασγία has such wider and narrower applications that it seems unlikely that it was used for the Peloponnesus by the people; despite the testimony of the historian Ephorus it seems to have been also a literary usage.

Ἄργος, a name of plains near the sea, was the name of the Peloponnesian city of Argos and later — so in Homer — also that of the Peloponnesus (also Ἄργος Πελασγικόν and Ἀχαϊκὸν Ἄργος).

The designation Ἀχαΐα for the Peloponnesus, first in the historians Polybius and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, is like Ἄργος a case of a name of a restricted area which comes to embrace and designate the whole region, in this instance the peninsula.

ΑΠΙΑ

The name Ἀπία [*a·pía*] f. (with ἀπ-) was in use mainly in poetry from the Iliad to the tragedians and later[8] and designated the Peloponnesus, but it seems that originally it designated Argolis or

[8] Aeschyl. *Suppl.* 275 χώρας Ἀπίας, 777; *Agam.* 256 Ἀπίας γαίας which the editor E. Fraenkel renders 'of the land of Apia = of the land of Argos'; Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1303 γῆς . . . Ἀπίας 'of the Peloponnesus' (while 1685 ἄπιος for ἄπιος 'far off, distant'); Apollod. 2.1.4; Rhianus ep. [3rd cent. B. C.], fr. 13 (ed. J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* [Oxford, 1925], p. 9; cf. Steph. Byz. s. Ἀπία) τοῦ δὲ κλυτὸς ἐκγένετ' Ἄπις|ὅς ῥ' Ἀπίην ἐφάτιξε καὶ ἀνέρας Ἀπιδανῆας (cf. Apoll. Rhod. 4.263) (he writes Ἀπίην with *ăp-* for 'Peloponnesus' by adopting Homeric ἀπίη 'distant', while in the preceding line he uses the name Ἄπις with *āp-*). Strabo 8.371 (Ἀπία = Ἄργος = Πελοπόννησος; Steph. Byz. s. Ἀπία follows Strabo); Athen. 14.650 B; Pliny *N.H.* 4.4.5 (*Apia*); Pausan. 2.5.5; Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 51; Schol. Thuc. 1.9; Steph. Byz. s. Ἀπία; *Etym. Magn.* 122.10; Eustath. *Comment. ad Dion. Perieg.* 414, 415.— Cf. *Liddell-Scott-Jones, Greek-English Lexicon*[9] 189 (ἄπιος B); Hirschfeld, art. "Apia", *RE* 2 (1894) 2801.

Argos.[9] The ethnicon Ἀπιεύς 'Peloponnesian' is transmitted late.[10] The name Ἀπίς 'Peloponnesus' occurs in Theocr. 25.183 (ed. A. Gow) κατ' Ἀπίδα 'in the Apian land' (instead of the previously accented κατ' Ἄπιδα), in Apoll. Rhod. 4.1564 (as a variant), Eratosthenes in his *Hermes*, fr. 5 (ed. Powell, p. 58), Nic. fr. 104. Ἀπίς is a late formation in -ίς like Ἀχαιίς to Ἀχαιοί.[11]

C. G. Heyne[12] had maintained that the name Ἀπία was originally and solely a poetic one. When Philipp Buttmann argues that Heyne's view is incompatible with the explicit testimonies of geographers and grammarians, we should not forget that ancient geographers and grammarians are indeed witnesses too late to bear testimony on literary matters that go back many centuries before them. And, while Buttmann is, to be sure, correct in asserting that the poetic names and especially all the most ancient names which poetry has preserved for us are very old, yet he cautiously adds in a note that he means those names which occur as real names in poets;[13] this limitation is important indeed. Is then Ἀπία a real name and not just poetic? Ἀπία or Ἀπία χώρα, Ἀπία γαῖα, Ἀπία γῆ (also Ἀπία βοῦνις; cf. Ἀργεία χθών etc.) is 'Argolis' and 'Argos' or 'Peloponnesus', so also Ἀπίη γαίη 'Pylos', Ἀπίς 'Peloponnesus', Ἀπιδανῆες are 'Arcadians' or 'Peloponnesians'. Our ignorance about the approximate time when these names were used and the wavering in their application demonstrates their mythological existence in poetry but not their real existence.

Let us see what later commentators write about this matter. According to Stephanus of Byzantium Ἀπία was the name of the peninsula during the time of Ἄπις, while its subsequent names were Πελασγία, Ἄργος, and Πελοπόννησος in that order.[14] To the

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[9] Ἀπία is the Argolis in Aesch. *Agam.* 256 (see preceding note); Aesch. *Suppl.* 260 χώρας Ἀπίας πέδον (cf. *Suppl.* 116 Ἀπία βοῦνις; 269 Ἀργεία χθονί).

[10] Steph. Byz. s. Ἀπία . . τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀπιεύς δηλῶν [scr. δηλοῦν] τὸν Πελοποννήσιον (ed. W. Dindorf, 1.67).

[11] F. Sommer, *Ahhijavā—Frage und Sprachwissenschaft* 28; E. Locker, "Die Bildung der griechischen Kurz- und Kosenamen," *Glotta* 22 (1934) 71. [12] On *Iliad* 1.270.

[13] Philipp Buttmann, *Lexilogus oder Beiträge zur griechischen Wort-Erklärung, hauptsächlich für Homer und Hesiod* (Berlin, 1865), 1.63 and note 4.

[14] *Steph. Byz. cum annotationibus* (ed. W. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1825, 1.344) Πελοπόννησος τρεῖς ἐπωνυμίας· ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Ἄπεως τοῦ Φορωνέως ἐκαλεῖτο Ἀπία, ἐπὶ δὲ Πελασγοῦ Πελασγία, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἄργου ὁμωνύμως Ἄργος ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Πελοπιδῶν Πελοπόννησος. κτλ.

Etymologus the names of the peninsula were Αἰγιάλεια named after the mythical personage Αἰγιαλεύς and Ἄπια from the mythical Ἄπις.[15] So also Eustathius and a Scholiast to Dionysius Periegeta.[16]

It was probably the tragic poets who, on the ground of the leading position of the city-state of Argos within the peninsula, ascribed the name Ἀπία to the entire peninsula. Later authors (such as Pausanias 2.5.5) took over the story of the name.

About the origin of the name Ἀπία we cannot be absolutely certain, yet the question has reached a satisfactory solution.

The attempts of the ancients were helpful but in a negative sense. We have to forget the suggestion of Athen. 14.63 and 65c deriving Ἀπία from the appellative noun ἄπιος f. 'pear tree' presumably because this tree was found in abundance in the peninsula or rather in the Argolis; both quantity of the initial vowel and termination are different in the two words.

But Aeschylus Suppl. 163 f. was the first to tell us that Ἀπία 'Argos' is from Ἄπις, the name of the mythical king of Argos, a son of Apollo and an iatromantis, who came to Argos from Naupactia.[17] If this is correct, the question still remains how to explain the name Ἄπις and the only result is that the problem stays in the vague realm of mythology.

The possibility of explaining Ἀπία from ἀπία γᾶ 'distant land' (ἀπίη γαίη Od. 7.25, 16.18; but Il. 1.270, 3.49 referring to the Peloponnesus), i. e. from the adj. ἄπιος (from the adverb ἀπό, ἄπο; cf. ἀντίος from the adverb ἀντί) is excluded for two compelling reasons: (1) the objection from prosody that ἀπία derived from the

[15] *Etym. magnun* 122.10ff. Ἀπία: Ἐξ ἀπίης γαίης. Ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου. Τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἐκαλεῖτο Αἰγιάλεια ἀπὸ Αἰγιαλέως, τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἰνάχου, τοῦ ἐν Ἄργει ποταμοῦ, καὶ Μελείης τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ· ὕστερον δὲ πάλιν Ἀπία ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ Ἄπιδος τοῦ Φορωνέως παιδός . . . Ἡ γὰρ πόλις ἐστὶν ἡ Ἑλλάς· ἡ δὲ χώρα Ἀπία κτλ.

[16] Eustathius, *Comment. ad Dionys. Perieg.* l.414 (ed. G. Bernhardy, Leipzig, 1828 = *Geographi Graeci minores* 1.173) οἱ δέ φασιν ὅτι Ἄπις ὁ Φορωνέως ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου ἐλθὼν ἀπήλλαξε τὴν Πελοπόννησον ὄφεων ὀχλούντων καὶ ᾤκησε περὶ Ἀρκαδίαν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ Πελοπόννησος ὅλη Ἀπία ἐκλήθη ποτέ· κτλ. Schol. ad Dion. Perieg. 414 (ed. Bernhardy, p. 350) . . ὅθεν ἡ Πελοπόννησος Ἀπία τὸ πρὶν ὠνομάζετο καὶ Ἀπιδανῆες οἱ Ἀρκάδες.

[17] Similarly Acusilaus [5th cent. B. C.], Fragm. der Griech. Histor. 1.47 (= Tzetzes *Lycophr.* 177); Rhianus *fr.* 13 (ed. Powell); Pausanias 2.5.5 (cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 4.5); Schol. Il. 1.22; Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4.263.

adverb has *ăp-*, whereas the toponym Ἀπία has *āp-*; the only case with *āp-* in ἀπίαν γαῖαν Soph. Oed. Col. 1685 (lyr.) can well be explained as caused by the influence of the homonymous ancient name Ἀπία 'Peloponnesus' (whose *ap-* has a long α); (2) the semantic obstacle, i. e. ἀπίᾱ γᾶ 'distant land' applied to the peninsula of the Peloponnesus by the Greeks is too far-fetched to be convincing. Had the concept really been 'distant', it would be necessary for those who advocate this interpretation to explain why the Peloponnesus should have had the name 'the distant one' and possibly offer the other contrasted notion of 'near, close'.

For the interpretation of the names one certainly depends on the available data but it takes not only testing of the reliability of the material but also a far reaching knowledge of the language, its antecedents, and parallel languages.

Two possibilities have been represented by scholars in interpreting Ἀπία 'Argos' and 'Peloponnesus', one that Ἀπία was derived from Ἄπις, the name of the mythical king (and this fits with the fact that Ἀπία originally designated Argos), and the other that Ἄπις is a secondary formation from Ἀπία. It seems, however, that neither is necessary but that the two names were parallel, deriving from a common source. The lead to this theory was offered by the ancients themselves who were the first to advance the connection of Ἀπία (γαῖα) with the name Ἀπιδανός.

German scholars of the 19th century thought of Ἀπία 'Peloponnesus' as a derivative of *āp-* 'water' (cf. Μεσσ-απία, Μεσσ-άπιοι, etc.)[18] Then, Paul Kretschmer explained the names more precisely as Illyrian (and Messapic): IE *ăp-* 'water'.[19] And we are able to compare Skt. *ăp-* f. 'water' (deriv. *apavant-* 'rich in water'), Avestan *āfš* with accus. *apəm* 'water', etc. and names from various Indo-European languages: Ἀπία 'Argolis; Peloponnesus', Μεσσ-απία,

[18] A. F. Pott, *Etymologische Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen* (Lemgo, 1859–61), 2[1].43 [his comparison of Ἀπία with the medieval name Μορέας 'Peloponnesus', as if the latter were from Slavic *more* 'sea', is erroneous]; Buttmann, *Lexilogus* 1.68 [he suggests *ăp-* 'water' as the ultimate source of the names Ἀπία, Ἄπις, Ἀπιδόνες, etc.]; G. Curtius, *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie*[5] (Leipzig, 1879) 469.

[19] Paul Kretschmer, "Die vorgriechischen Sprach- und Volksschichten," *Glotta* 30 (1943) 163. Cf. P. Kretschmer, "Eridanos," *Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie offerts à Jacq. Van Ginneken* (Paris, 1937), p. 210.

Locrian Μεσσ-άπιοι, Illyr. Μεσσ-άπιοι, Illyr. *Āpuli*, the river names Ἀπιδών in Arcadia, Ἀπιδανός in Thessaly (Thessalian Achaia Herodot. 7.129, Ἠπιδανός ibid. 7.196), Ἀπιδόνες (Strabo 8.372), Ἀπιδονῆες (Steph. Byz. s. Ἀπία), Ἀπιδανῆες, Thracian Ἄπος in Dacia, Illyr. Ἄψος-*Apsus*, etc.[20]

The relationship of Ἀπία with Ἀπιδών name of an Arcadian river, Ἀπιδόνες 'Arcadians', 'Argives', and 'Peloponnesians', Ἀπιδανός name of a tributary of the Peneios in Thessaly (also Ἠπιδανός in Herodotos) and of a river in the Troad, Ἀπιδανή 'Peloponnesian' as by-name of Laïs (Bergk 2.96), Ἀπιδανῆες 'Arcadians' and 'Peloponnesians' (Apoll. Rhod. 4.203; Rhianus fr. 13; Callim. Hy. 1.14; Nonnus 13.294) is not clear yet. We may assume that Ἀπίς-Ἀπίδος gave rise to Ἀπιδών, Ἀπιδανός; Ἀπιδανεύς-ῆες would be a derivative of Ἀπιδανός.

The name Ἄπις of the mythical king of Argos[21] certainly is not the same name as Ἄπις (Egyptian *Ḥape*), name of a bull worshipped in Egypt (Herodot. 2.153, etc.).[22] It is not connected with ἤπιος.[22a] As said above, it is a derivative of Indo-European ap- 'water'.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΙΑ

The name Πελασγία [*pelasgía*] is used, to be sure, to designate the whole of ancient Greece[23] and Argos,[24] which was called also

[20] Cf. now Julius Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern, 1948–59) 1.51.

[21] W. H. Roscher, art. "Apis (Ἄπις) 2", Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* 1[1] (Leipzig, 1884–86) 421f. (the explanation of the name Ἄπις from Ἀπία in col. 422); Wernicke, art. "Apis 6," *RE* 2 (1894) 2809f.

[22] Concerning the Egyptian *ḥ*- lost in Greek Ἄπις cf. P. Wahrmann, *Glotta* 17 (1929) 237, who discusses a study of Kurt Sethe.

[22a] G. Hermann in E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos* (Gotha, 1851–52) 1.108 note 6; cf. J. Vürtheim, *Aischylos Schutzflehende* (Amsterdam, 1928) 59 ["weniger zweifelhaft ist vielleicht die etymologische Verbindung von Ἄπις (ἰατρόμαντις) mit ἤπιος: ein Sjamanenname!"] and 175 [comment on line 270: "Der Eponymos der Ἀπίη γῆ wurde wohl zum ἰατρόμαντις wegen der Etymologie ἄπις: ἤπιος". Disapproved by P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 19 (1931) 176 ["Die lautlichen Schwierigkeiten werden, wie so oft von Philologen, nicht gewürdigt"].

[23] Πελασγίη 'Greece' Herodot. 2.56 and Πελασγοί 'Greeks' Eurip. *Orest.* 857 and Πελασγιῶται 'Greeks' Eurip. *fr.* 228.7.

[24] Aesch. *Prom.* 861; Eurip. *Iph. Aul.* 1498; *Orest.* 960.

Ἄργος Πελασγικόν, etc.,[25] as well as Arcadia,[26] Lesbos,[27] the city Larisa Kremaste in Phthiotis,[28] and the whole of Thessaly.[29] But we do have explicit information of the historian Ephorus [4th cent. B. C.] that Πελασγία was the name of the Peloponnesus.[30] The history of the name, however, had ended before Ephorus' time.

As to its origin, it is obvious that Πελασγία was 'the land of the Pelasgians', the land of the Πελασγοί.[31] The toponym is an adjectival formation in *-ία* for Πελασγία γῆ. The name Πελασγοί meaning originally 'people living in a flat land, inhabitants of a plain' derives from **πελαγσκοί*: πέλαγος neut. 'flat land, plain' with a parallel in mod. Greek καμπήσιοι 'inhabitants of a plain' (versus βουνήσιοι 'inhabitants of a mountainous area, hillfolk'). This latter corroborates Kretschmer's viewpoint of πελασγοί as an appellative noun before it became a proper name Πελασγοί.[32] The latter, a local name, came to be a general term in the same way as Ἀργεῖοι 'Argives', Ἀχαιοί 'Achaeans', and Ἕλληνες, all for 'Hellenes, Greeks'.[33]

Our Πελασγία, however, does not seem to have been a regular name for the peninsula but it was probably used with regard to the provenience of its population. We may reason that a name applied to so many other places including islands could hardly remain for long as the designation of one specific region such as the penin-

[25] Ἄργος Πελασγικόν Il. 2.681, Eurip. Orest. 1601; Phoeniss. 264; Πελασγὸν Ἄργος Eurip. Orest. 691, 1302; Πελασγὸν ἔδος Ἀργείων Eurip. Orest. 1247.

[26] Pausan. 8.1.2; 8.2.1.

[27] Diodor. Sic. 5.81.

[28] Strabo 9.435 and 440; Steph. Byz. s. Λάρισα. Larisa Kremaste = modern Γαρδίκι

[29] Schol. Il. 2.681; cf. Strabo 7.7, p. 329.

[30] Ephorus of Cyme fr. 113 (Fragmente der griech. Historiker, ed. F. Jacoby, 2.71) ακὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον δὲ Πελασγίαν φησὶν Ἔφορος κληθῆναι (= Strabo 5.2.4). Cf. Steph. Byz. s. Πελοπόννησος: τρεῖς ἔσχεν ἐπωνυμίας . . . . ἐπὶ δὲ Πελασγοῦ Πελασγία κτλ. (ed. A. Meineke, Berlin 1849, 1.516). However, the same Steph. Byz. in the article Πελασγία says that this name is the one for the land of Argos: Πελασγία, ἡ χώρα τοῦ Ἄργους καὶ ἡ γυνή . . . Πελασγός. καὶ Πελασγιώτης ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγία. κτλ. (*ibid.* 514). Cf. also Pliny, *N.H.* 4.4; Schol. Apoll. Rh. 1.1024; Tzetzes *Lycophr.* 156.

[31] On the Πελασγοί F. Schachermeyr, Art. "Pelasgoi," *RE* 37 (1937) 253; P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 1 (1909) 16f.; 2 (1910) 343; 22 (1934) 256. Cf. J. Pokorny, *op. cit.* (note 20) 1.832. A recent brief discussion is found in M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (Cambridge, 1956) 5f.

[32] Kretschmer, *Glotta* 2.343.

[33] Cf. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 1.16f.; A. Debrunner, art. "Griechen," in M. Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* 4,[2] (1926) 518b; Schachermeyr, *loc. cit.*

sula of the Peloponnesus; indeed, as far as we know, no place in Greece has kept its name Πελασγία through the Greek tradition. On the other hand, it cannot be proved that the name Πελασγία is, as Stählin believes,[34] a mythical one.

ΑΡΓΟΣ

The name Ἄργος (neut.) [*árgos*] of several cities, e. g. in Thessaly and Acarnania, is also that of the well-known city in the Argolis in the Peloponnesus (first occurrences in Homer[35]) and Ἀργεῖοι are the Argives (Iliad). It is interesting to note that in Homer the name τὸ Ἄργος has three place identifications: (1) Argos, the dominion of Agamemnon, (2) the Peloponnesus, and (3) Greece; and parallel the ethnicon for (1) Argive, (2) Peloponnesian, and (3) Greek.[36] Strabo is explicit about the Homeric usage of Ἄργος 'Peloponnesus', so also Aristarchus, the Scholiasts, and lexicographers.[37]

In contrast to Ἄργος Ἀμφιλοχικόν in Ambracia and Ἄργος Ὀρεστικόν in Epirus stands Ἀχαϊκὸν Ἄργος 'Achaean Argos'[38] as

[34] F. Stählin, art. "Pelasgia 2," *RE* 37 (1937) 251.

[35] *Il.* 2.108; 6.152; 9.141; 283; *Od.* 3.262.

[36] Cf. Hirschfeld, art. "Argos," *RE* 2[1] (1896) 787f.; A. Della Seta, "Achaioi, Argeioi, Danaoi nei poemi Omerici," *Rendic. Accad. dei Lincei* 16 (1907) 133ff.; cf. P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 1 (1909) 383.- Strabo 8.6.5. (ed. H. L. Jones, Loeb, 4.155f.) concludes from the Homeric Ἄργος Ἀχαικόν (*Il.* 9.141) that the poet signifies here that under a different designation the Peloponnesians were also called Achaeans in a special sense (σημαίνων ἐνταῦθα, ὅτι καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ ἰδίως ὠνομάζοντο οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι κατ' ἄλλην σημασίαν).

[37] Strabo 8.6.5 καὶ γὰρ ἡ πόλις Ἄργος λέγεται *Ἄργος τε Σπάρτη τε· οἱ δ' Ἄργος τ' εἶχον Τίρυνθά τε.* καὶ ἡ Πελοπόννησος, *ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ ἐν Ἄργει* [*Il.* 1.30]. οὐ γὰρ ἡ πόλις γε ἦν οἶκος αὐτοῦ (i.e. of Agamemnon)· καὶ ὅλη ἡ Ἑλλάς. κτλ. 8.6.9 ὅτι δ' Ἄργος τὴν Πελοπόννησον [sc. Ὅμηρος] λέγει, προσλαβεῖν ἔστι καὶ τάδε, *Ἀργείη δ' Ἑλένη* [*Od.* 4.296] καὶ ἔστι *πόλις Ἐφύρη μυχῷ Ἄργεος ἱπποβότοιο* [*Il.* 6.152] καὶ *μέσον Ἄργος* [*Od.* 1.344] καὶ *πολλῇσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἄργεϊ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν* [*Il.* 2.108]. So also Strabo 8.5.5 τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἐκ πολλῶν ἤδη χρόνων Ἄργος λεγομένην κτλ. Also Aristarchus in Schol. Il. 4.171 Ἄργος ὅλην τὴν Πελοπόννησον λέγει, οὐ τὴν πόλιν; Schol. Pind. Isthm. 2.445 ἡ πᾶσα Πελοπόννησος Ἄργος καλεῖται ὁμωνύμως τῇ πόλει. Ὅμηρος οὖν τὴν Ἑλένην Ἀργείαν φησὶν ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν Λακεδαιμονίαν. Ἀργείαν δὲ εἶπεν ἀντὶ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακήν.. Cf. Hesych. Ἄργος· Πελοπόννησος (*Il.* 2.108) Ἀργείη· Πελοποννησία (*Od.* 4.184); *Etym. magnum* 136.5–7 (ed. T. Gaisford, Oxford, 1848) Ἄργος: Σημαίνει δ'· ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς Πελοποννήσου, *Πολλῇσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἄργεϊ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν.* Among the modern historians Niebuhr (*Alte Geschichte* 1.242) and others noted the application of Ἄργος 'Greece.'

[38] Ἄργος Ἀχαϊκόν *Il.* 9.141; Ἀχαϊκὸν Ἄργος *Od.* 3.251; Dionys. Halic. *A.R.* 1.17.2 is the city of Argos.

the designation for the Peloponnesus;[39] also Ἄργος Πελασγικὸν (and poetic Πελασγὸν Ἄργος, Πελασγὸν ἔδος Ἀργείων)[40] is 'Peloponnesus', though Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος is used also for 'Thessaly' or for a part of Thessaly or for a vanished Thessalian city.[41] The Homeric Ἴασον Ἄργος 'Iasian Argos', being equivalent to 'Peloponnesus', had no continuous existence.

Since the appellative noun ἄργος neut., not found recorded, but assumed to have existed, meant 'plain' according to Strabo 8.6.9[42] and 'a plain near the sea'[43], the explanation of the place name Ἄργος neut. from the same noun is probable[44] but the latter's further analysis is a matter of speculation. The older view that ἄργος neut. may derive from the adj. ἀργός 'light, gleaming', unsatisfactory as it is semantically, is yet preferable to a novel interpretation.[45] It may be pointed out here that the adj. ἀργός has a genitive ἀργέος (from *ἀργέσ-ος) in Nicander, (twice: Ther. 856, Alex. 305; cf. LSJ 2053); this and adj. ἀργεννός (from *ἀργεσ-νός) derive from the stem ἀργεσ-(:*ἄργος). The recent etymologist Frisk[46] cautiously stamps the name as unexplained.

AXAÏA

The ancient name Ἀχαΐα [*akhaía*] has ten or more applications in the Greek historical tradition,[47] four of them being the following:

[39] According to the information of Strabo 8.5.5 who adds that the same name means also 'Laconia'. Cf. Eustathius, *Comment. ad Dionys. Perieg.* 419 (ed. Bernhardy, 1.175). [40] Cf. above on Πελασγία. [41] Cf. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* 789, No. 3.

[42] Cf. Dionys. Epic. ap. Steph. Byz. s. Δώτιον; Callim. *Fr.* 45.

[43] Eustathius, *Comment. ad Dionys. Perieg.* 419 (ed. Bernhardy, 1.175).

[44] The name of the giant, ὁ Ἄργος, was also explained from the neuter place name τὸ Ἄργος by P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 13 (1924) 103.– The alleged connection of Ἄργος with Πελαργοί (= Πελασγοί) along with all names such as *Apis, Apia, Opes, Opici, Osci, -asgi, Ausones, Aones*, suffix *-ops* (in *Dolops, Dryops, Kekrops, Merops, Pelops*), suggested a century ago by Philipp Buttmann (*Lexilogus* 1[4].64 note 1), should be left out of any serious consideration.

[45] The noun ἄργος 'fortress' would be from Pelasgian **arg-* ←Indo-European *areq-* 'enfermer, écarter' (Greek ἀρκέω, Lat. *arceo*, Armen. *argel*, etc.); so A. J. van Windekens, "Notes pélasgiques. 3. Le sens du toponyme "Ἄργος", *L'Antiquité Classique* 19 (1949) 400f.; idem, *Le Pélasgique* (Louvain, 1952), 18 and 144. There is, however, no indication that a noun ἄργος with the meaning 'fortress' ever existed and the stem of the noun should be **arges-*:*argos*.

[46] H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1954–), p.132.

[47] On these applications of the name see *RE* 1 (1894) s. *Achaia*; W. Pape and F. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] (Braunschweig, 1884) s. Ἀχαΐα; etc.

(1) Achaia proper, the dodecapolis;
(2) the north coast region of the peninsula between Sicyon and Elis;
(3) the entire peninsula of the Peloponnesus; and
(4) Ἀχαΐα and Latin *Achaia*, the Roman *provincia Achaia*, including the Peloponnesus and mainland Greece.

While Homeric Ἀχαΐα meant also 'Greece' in general in both the Iliad (1.254; 7.124) and the Odyssey (11.166, 481; 13.249; 23.68), the name Ἀχαιὶς γαῖα (Od. 21.107 κατ' Ἀχαιίδα γαῖαν) seems to stand for the Peloponnesus.

Ἀχαΐα[48] designating the Peloponnesus occurs first in Polybius (2nd cent. B. C.),[49] then in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1st cent. B. C.),[50] and in Cassius Dio (2nd/3rd cent. A. D.).[51] This means that the regional name Ἀχαΐα for the northern part of the peninsula (i. e. the north coast between Elis and Sicyon) was extended to cover the entire Peloponnesus. The onomastic principle of the widening of a name's content is well-known. The explanation for this particular instance is, in my opinion, this: Since during the 3rd and 2nd centuries B. C. the Achaean confederacy[52] became the

[48] Ἀχαΐα is in late Greek a quadrisyllabic word and not trisyllabic, as many scholars indicate in the spelling Ἀχαία. Thus, P. Kretschmer (*Glotta* 33 [1954] 7) is for the form without the diaeresis sign. Ernst Curtius (*Peloponnesos*, Gotha, 1851–52, 1.419 note 1) noted correctly: "'Η Ἀχαΐα (niemals dreisilbig)". Modern Greek is our best guide for late Greek: it is pronounced *axaía* today, not *aχéa*.

[49] I say in Polybius for, since Ἀχαιοί = Πελοποννήσιοι, we have to conclude also that Ἀχαΐα = Πελοπόννησος. Polyb. 2.38 Πρῶτον δὲ πῶς ἐπεκράτησε καί τίνι τρόπῳ τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὄνομα κατὰ πάντων Πελοποννησίων οὐκ ἄχρηστον μαθεῖν.

[50] Dionys. Halic., *A.R.* 1.25 (ed. C. Jacoby, 1.40) καὶ πᾶσαἠπροσεσπέριος Ἰταλία τὰς κατὰ τὸ ἔθνος ὀνομασίας ἀφαιρεθεῖσα [καὶ] τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ἐκείνην ἐλάμβανεν, ὥσπερ <καὶ> τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄλλη τε πολλαχῆ καὶ περὶ τὴν καλουμένην νῦν Πελοπόννησον ἐγένετο· ἐπὶ γὰρ ἑνὸς τῶν οἰκούντων ἐν αὐτῇ ἐθνῶν, τοῦ Ἀχαϊκοῦ καὶ ἡ σύμπασα χερρόνησος [i. e. Πελοπόννησος] ... Ἀχαΐα ὠνομάσθη.

[51] Cassius Dio, *H.R.* 48.36.5 (ed. F. Boissovain, 2.274) ἀλλ' ἐγράφη γε... αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Σέξτον ὕπατόν τε αἱρεθῆναι καὶ οἰωνιστὴν ἀποδειχθῆναι, ἔκ τε τῆς οὐσίας τῆς πατρῴας χιλίας καὶ ἑπτακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα μυριάδας δραχμῶν κομίσασθαι, καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Σαρδοῦς τῆς τε Ἀχαΐας ἐπὶ πέντε ἔτη ἄρξαι κτλ. In this passage Ἀχαΐα signifies 'Peloponnesus', for the earlier Appian Ἐμφυλίων 5.72 has Πελοπόννησος instead of Ἀχαΐα. Cf. C. Paparrigopoulos, "'Ρωμαίων πολίτευμα πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα" [publ. first in 1846], in his 'Ιστορικαὶ πραγματεῖαι (Athens, 1858) 205.

[52] The names of the Achaean confederacy in Pausanias are τὸ Ἀχαϊκόν, Ἀχαϊκὸν συνέδριον, συνέδριον τὸ Ἀχαιῶν, σύλλογος ὁ Ἀχαιῶν, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν.

chief power in Greece, eventually including nearly all of the Peloponnesus and part of central Greece, the name Ἀχαΐα naturally widened its coverage. Especially when Achaea became an ally of Rome (198 B. C.), almost the whole Peloponnesus was incorporated into the Achaean confederacy.[53] Correspondingly, the inhabitant name Ἀχαιοί for 'Peloponnesians' is found,[54] especially from Caligula's time (first half of the 1st cent. A. D.)[55] on, but not generally.[56]

When the Romans, after the conquest of 146 B. C., made the *Achaia provincia* out of central Greece, the designation *Achaia* was used, before the Empire, either for the N. Peloponnesian region called Ἀχαΐα in Greek or for the whole peninsula of the Peloponnesus.[57] At the end of the Roman republic (27 B. C.), *Achaia* was made by Augustus a senatorial province. Ἀχαΐα (*Achaia*) designated, during the early (2nd to early 6th) centuries A. D., 'Greece', including the Peloponnesus, Sterea Hellas, Euboea, Thessaly, Acarnania.[58]

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[53] Cf. C. Paparrigopoulos, *History of the Greek Nation* (Athens, 1925), 2.1.297 [in Greek]; J. A. O. Larsen, art. "Achaean League," *Oxford Class Dict.* (1949), p. 2f.; idem, *Representative government in Greek and Roman history* (Berkeley,1955 = *Sather Class. Lectures*, 28) 94.

[54] Polyb., *loc. cit.* (note 49).

[55] C. Keil, *Sylloge inscriptionum Boeoticarum* (Leipzig, 1847) 120.

[56] It should be noted that Pausanias uses the terms Ἀχαΐα for Achaia, Ἀχαιοί 'Achaeans', Ἀχαικός 'Achaean', etc. only, never for 'Peloponnesus', 'Peloponnesians', 'Peloponnesian' respectively.

[57] Paparrigopoulos, Ἱστορικαὶ πραγματεῖαι 202, offers this interpretation of *Achaia* in Caesar, *De bello civ.* 3.4; Cicero, *In L. Calpurnium Pisonem oratio 37.*

[58] Strabo 17.3.25; Pausanias, *Achaica* 16.5–7 (his explanation, however, that the Roman proconsul is called ἡγεμὼν Ἀχαΐας, not Ἑλλάδος, by the Romans because, he says, they subjugated the Greeks through the Ἀχαιοί who were leading the Greeks, is superficial); Cassius Dio, H.R. 60.24.1 Τήν τε Ἀχαΐαν καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν αἱρετοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἐξ οὗπερ ὁ Τιβέριος ἦρξε, διδομένας ἀπέδωκεν ὁ Κλαύδιος τότε τῷ κλήρῳ. Dio uses also Ἑλλάς instead of Ἀχαΐα in 53.12.4; 63.8.2; 63.11.4; etc.

For H. Dessau (*Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit* 2.2.564 note 1), J. Larsen (*Economic Survey* 4.438 note 1), U. Kahrstedt ("Die Territorien von Patrai und Nikopolis in der Kaiserzeit," *Historia* 1 [1950] 558), and Brandis (*RE* 1.194) Strabo's passage (17.3.25 Ἀχαΐαν μέχρι Θετταλίας καὶ Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων καί τινων Ἠπειρωτικῶν ἐθνῶν ὅσα τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ προσώριστο) means to tell us that Aetolia, Acarnania, and Thessaly pertained to the province of Achaea; Brandis emends the passage, by inserting three words which he presumes to have been lost, to read: καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ < Ἠπείρου ἔξω δέ > τινων Ἠπειρωτικῶν ἐθνῶν. On the other side, Th. Mommsen (*Römische Geschichte* 5.233ff.), the commentator of IG 9². 47,

As to the analysis and the origin of the name Ἀχαΐα, it is certainly difficult to explain it because, having no Indo-European connections, it may ultimately be of Prehellenic non-Indo-European origin. Despite the long extended and animated controversy, it seems that it was this name that was used by the Hittites in the form *Aḫḫijavā*, which occurs frequently in Hittite records, so that the connection postulated between Ἀχαΐα, originally *Ἀχαιϝᾱ, and better *Ἀχαιϝίᾱ and *Aḫḫijavā* (its *-ijava* standing for *-aiva* by metathesis, at which analogical influence of the Anatolian geographic name *Arzava* terminating in *-ava* could, according to Kretschmer, have been at work) is established.[59] Kretschmer's last word on the Ἀχαΐα problem was that *Aḫḫijavā* in the Hittite records is the Hittite name of the unearthed settlement of Enkomi in Cyprus[60] or of the city Ἀχαία on Rhodes,[61] while Ἀχαΐα (= Ἀχαιϝία) is the name of the north coast of the Peloponnesus.[62] The interpretation of the name receives new light from Cnossus tablet C 914 in which a word has been read as *a-ka-wi-ja-de* and is sup-

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and Toepffer (art. "Achaia 1," *RE* 1.156) interpret the locus to mean 'Greece' to the exclusion of Thessaly, Acarnania, and Aetolia; so did Paparrigopoulos, Ἱστορικαὶ πραγματεῖαι 202 and 208.

Achaia as a Roman province is later recorded for the 4th, 5th, and early 6th centuries of our era. See Ernst Gerland, *Die Genesis der Notitia episcopatuum* (*Corpus Notitiarum Episcopatuum Ecclesiae Orientalis Graecae*, vol. 1), p. 41.

[59] P. Kretschmer, "Die Hypachäer," *Glotta* 21 (1931) 227; idem, "Achäer in Kleinasien zur Hethiterzeit," *Glotta* 33 (1954) 1ff. Cf. the vigorously voiced objections of F. Sommer, *Die Aḫḫijavā-Urkunden*, *Abhandl. d. Bayer. Akad., phil-hist. Kl., N.F.*, 6 (1932); idem, *Aḫḫijavā-Frage und Sprachwissenschaft*, *ibid.*, 1934; idem, "Aḫḫijavā und kein Ende?," *Indogerman. Forschungen* 55 (1937) 169–297; 56 (1958) 38ff. Cf. also F. Schachermeyr, *Hethiter und Achäer* (Leipzig, 1935); E. Forrer, "Kilikien zur Zeit des Hatti-Reiches", *Klio* 30 (1937) 135ff. – On the rather impossible attempt of H. Günthert (*Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland* [Halle, 1923], 73; "Über die Namen Achaier und Hellenen," *Wörter und Sachen* 9 [1926] 130–136), to explain Ἀχαιϝοί as meaning 'companions, comrades, friends' as corresponding to Indo-Iranian **sakhaivo-*, which would be a derivative of Skt. *sákhā-*, Old Pers. *haxā-* 'companion, friend' see P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 15 (1927) 190 and (more openly rejecting it) 17 (1929) 250.

[60] Claude Schaeffer, *Enkomi-Alasia*, 1 (Paris, 1952) 353. Kretschmer (*Glotta* 33 [1954] 7ff.) lends support for Schaeffer's theory that Enkomi was *Aḫḫijavā* and elaborates in detail.

[61] *IG* Rhodi No. 677, 1.15 τᾶς ἐξ Ἀχαίας πόλιος; Diodor. 5.57 πόλιν Ἀχαίαν; Ergias ap. Athen. 8.360 ἐν τῇι Ἰαλυσῶι πόλιν ἔχοντες ἰσχυροτάτην τὴν Ἀχαίαν καλουμένην.

[62] Kretschmer, *op. cit.* (note 14).

posed to represent Greek Ἀχαιϝίανδε (*akhaiwíānde*), a perfect equivalent (apart from the adverbial suffix *-de*) to Hittite *Aḫḫijavā*. This may be the name of a town in Crete[63] (to which belongs the name Ἀχαιοί as used of Cretans in Od. 19.175). As Hittite *Aḫḫijavā* is identified with the Achaeans, wherever the land Aḫḫijavā was located, so is the name *Akajwaš(a)* which occurs in Egyptian records (13th century B. C.).[64] It is expected that future discoveries and study will shed more light on these names.

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[63] See Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* 146 and (no. 78) 209.

[64] Cf. H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (London, 1950), 87 f.; cf. 35, 322 f.; T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer* (London, 1958), p. 9 f., 67.

* * *

ADDENDA

On pp. 70–71. – On the matter of prehistoric names and their etymological examination in conjunction with other, non-linguistic, evidence, cf. R. Pittioni, "Urgeschichtliche Stamm- und Sprachgeschichte," *Zeitschrift f. Mundartforschung*, 21. Jahrg. (1953) 193–197; Ernst Pulgram, *The Tongues of Italy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 181 with note 91.

ΑΠΙΑ (pp. 72–76). – P. 73, note 12: C. G. Heyne, *Homeri carmina cum brevi annotatione* etc. 9 vols. Lipsiae, 1802–1822 [Vols. 4–8: Variae lectiones et observationes in Iliadem; vol. 9: Indices]. On Il. 1.270 see vol. 1 (1802) 38; 4 (1802) 84 f., 460 [on Ἀπία]. On Ἄργος in Homer etc. see 4.213, 362, 367, 441; 5.584, 590. – P. 75, 76: On Ἄπις, the mythical king, cf. also P. Grimal, *Dictionnaire de la mythologie grecque et romaine* (Paris, 1951), p. 40b; C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* (Berlin, 1920), p. 281. – On the name Ἄπις from Egyptian *Ḥāpe* (p. 76 and note 22) with loss of *h-* in the Greek rendering (*hīb* → ἶβις, *hbnj* → ἔβενος, etc.) see K. Sethe, "Zur Wiedergabe des ägyptischen h am Wortanfang durch die Griechen," *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, philol.-hist. Kl.*, 1925 (Berlin, 1926), 51 f. and 55 f.

ΑΧΑΪΑ (pp. 79–83). – The growth and expansion of the Achaean confederacy to embrace the whole Peloponnesus was achieved in 191 B. C., was consolidated after the revolt of Messenia in 183, and lasted till 146 B.C. (Polyb. 2.37.8 and 10), i. e. forty-five years, but with geographical limitations (Polyb. 2.37.11 σχεδὸν τὴν σύμπασαν Πελοπόννησος). Cf. F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1957), p. 215, 217 f.

Bible Belt Onomastics or Some Curiosities of Anti-Pedobaptist Nomenclature

THOMAS PYLES

In 1947 Mrs. Hoyette White, a former teacher and the mother of five fair daughters, graduated from Oklahoma City University. At the same time one of the aforesaid daughters, Norvetta, graduated from Oklahoma A. and M. University with a fine arts degree in piano and voice; a second daughter, Yerdith, graduated from Classen High School in Oklahoma City, where she distinguished herself as a clarinet player in the school band and as a member of the swimming team; a third, Arthetta, finished her work at Wilson grade school; and a fourth, Marlynne, did not graduate from anywhere, but got into the newspaper anyway. Mother Hoyette's fifth daughter, Wilbarine, had already graduated in 1943 from Oklahoma City University and married a man prosaically named John.

Even in Oklahoma such a clutch of euphoniously named females as Hoyette, Norvetta, Yerdith, Arthetta, Marlynne, and Wilbarine seems to have been noteworthy, if not the actual occasion for the newsworthiness of the White family, for the feature writer in the Oklahoma City *Daily Oklahoman* (May 19, 1947, p. 1) asks, "Wondering where they got those names?" and goes on to give Mrs. White's explanation:

> When my mother saw I looked so much like my father, she made a girl's name out of the family name Hoyt and called me Hoyette. That started the names.
>
> When I named my own girls, I wanted names no one had ever had and names nobody would ever want. So I made them up.

On St. Valentine's Day, 1948, Mr. and Mrs. Finis Finch of Oklahoma City had been married almost sixty-eight years. It was evidently the opinion of the feature editor of the same newspaper cited above that this almost incredibly prolonged Darby-and-Joan ex-

istence qualified them as authorities on romantic love, and they were accordingly the subjects of an interview by one of the paper's feature writers. The entire family of the Finches at that time included five children, twenty-two grandchildren, thirty-seven great-grandchildren, and four great-great-grandchildren. It is not surprising that the Reverend Mrs. Finch, a preacher in the Holiness Church, had difficulty in remembering some of the children's names. She complained as follows: "They don't use old-fashioned names that are easy to remember. They name them things like Linda and Treva, Mickey Gail and Suevella and —" turning to her husband — "What is Eddie Sue's boy's name?" (Feb. 14, 1948, p.1.)

One more illustrative quotation, and then to my muttons. The speaker this time is the eminent Senator Rayburn of Texas, as reported by Mr. Drew Pearson: "I was named Sam, not Samuel. We don't believe in putting on airs in our family." (Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 16, 1955. p. 11.)

Here we may see three leading factors in American name-giving: the desire to be unique, to be fashionable, and to be folksily democratic. We shall encounter yet others as we proceed.

In a youth agreeably misspent *in partibus infidelium*, I was little conscious of the tendencies in name-giving with which I am here concerned. It is true that names which were thought strange or amusing did in those days occasionally come to one's attention, but they were almost invariably cited as curiosa and equated with naïveté, inferior social standing, and ignorance. They were more or less sporadic even on the social level at which they were believed most likely to occur and were regarded as the creations of those who led drab and lowly lives — the onomastic *bijouterie* of the underprivileged.

It was not indeed until my translation, fairly late in life, first to the southwestern and later to the southeastern sector of the Bible Belt — in Mencken's classic definition, as utilized by M. M. Mathews in the *Dictionary of Americanisms*, "those parts of the country in which the literal accuracy of the Bible is credited and clergymen who preach it have public influence" — that I first became aware of such names in high places. To what extent the onomastic mores with which I am here concerned have become nationwide I do not really know. Mr. Thomas L. Crowell in *American Speech* (XXIII [1948], 265–272) contributes some very fruity specimens from

Washington, a city which has a more or less transient population, and has collected similar examples in New York City. Menken also cites a good many from outside the Bible Belt. It is likely that the isoglosses demarcating the Fancy Names Belt have by now spread considerably beyond the limits of the Bible Belt. Two World Wars have brought hosts of anti-pedobaptists from the hills to the towns and cities, where their fecundity has shown no signs of abating. Their places of worship have moved from deserted stores to gaudy, neon-illuminated erections and, among the more sophisticated, to tabernacles of neo-Gothic and colonial meeting-house architecture. But the moral, social, and ecclesiastical customs of the rural Bethels linger on, as do also the naming habits of the remoter areas, despite increasing prosperity, superficial sophistication, and considerable distinction in business, politics, and the professions on the part of many. In the towns of the inland South and even to a large extent in the cities, the pastors of these formerly more or less obscure religious bodies[1] have retained much of the public influence which they and their predecessors had in the hill country, but unlike the pedobaptist men of God whom they have displaced in prestige, they exert no influence over the name-giving habits of those committed to their charge. The naming of Christians is no part of their ghostly office.

According to the 1958 *World Almanac*, the total Christian church membership in this country is 98,014,954 (excluding the Christian Scientists, who release no figures.) Of these, 26,011,499, or considerably more than a fourth, do not practice infant baptism. These have their greatest strength in the inland South. The effect of these circumstances peculiar to our American religious life in the matter of name-giving is obvious. Where name-giving is no part of the sacrament of baptism, and where consequently a clergyman with some sense of traditional onomastic decorum has no say, individual taste and fancy may run riot — and usually do. It is highly unlikely

[1] The Baptists were of course never obscure in American life. But there are now, according to my friend and former student, the Reverend James Sims, himself a Baptist pastor, at least 117 other anti-pedobaptist denominations among the 272 listed in the 1956 *World Almanac*. (Of still others he was not sure.) The groups most prominent in the inland South, in addition to the various Baptist bodies, are the Assemblies of God, the Churches of Christ, the Disciples of Christ, Jehovah's Witnesses, the Churches of God, the Pentecostal Assemblies, and the Church of the Nazarene.

that any man of God, even though the canons of his church were not explicit in the matter, would consent in the course of his sacerdotal duties to confer upon hapless infants such names as Buzz Buzz, Coeta, Merdine, Aslean, La Void, Arsie, Phalla, and Raz — all legal names borne by Bible Belters of repute. And it is certain that Ima Hogg, the *grande dame* of Houston society, whose father was once governor of Texas, was so named without the connivance of any anointed priest.

One result of the increasing numbers and prestige of anti-pedobaptists has thus been, ironically enough, the decline of the Christian name in what is certainly the most self-consciously and vocally Christian of all lands, where God's name is minted into the very currency and He runs on all sides of every political campaign. It has also, incidentally, given rise to a new type of urban Christianity, quite unlike anything ever known in Europe and probably never before known even in this nation under God.

The proud bearers of the names which I shall shortly begin to cite are all, unless otherwise specified, Christian Caucasians of good standing in their communities — people of sufficient importance that their engagements, their marriages, their parturitions, and, alas, their deaths are recounted fairly fully on "society" pages and in full-length obituaries in the newspapers,[2] which are a veritable onomastic treasure-trove. Other important sources have been class lists, yearbooks, official lists of voters and of property owners, telephone directories, and commencement programs. These last have provided entertainment and instruction during many commencement addresses by atomic physicists, business executives, industrialists, generals, and presidents of neighboring colleges and universities panting after yet another honorary doctorate to add to their string. Many of my handsomest specimens were collected under such otherwise depressing circumstances. It should be obvious that the names culled from these sources are not those of the underprivileged, the economically depressed, or whatever the current term for "poor and lowly" happens to be. Nor are such names to be regarded as nicknames, since they appear in formal and digni-

[2] Among my richest sources are the Oklahoma City *Daily Oklahoman*, the Norman (Okla.) *Transcript*, the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, and the Gainesville (Fla.) *Sun*.

fied surroundings — those in the commencement programs being obviously the same as those which appear in Old English calligraphy on diplomas.

The formal and official use of diminutives by adults is quite common in the Belt. The most popular of these diminutives is Billy (with "clear" *l*), usually masculine, though considered perfectly appropriate for women also, with Bobby, Johnny, and Jimmy — also bisexual — running slightly behind. In a single year (1950), no fewer than eighteen Billys, including two Billy Joes, two Billy Genes, and one feminine Billye, received degrees from the University of Oklahoma. In addition, there were four Willies.[3] At the University of Florida in the same year, three Billys graduated from a single college, Business Administration.

So prestigious is Billy, in fact, that one of Florida's representatives in Congress, Hon. Donald Ray Matthews, has adopted the name, using the official style D.R. (Billy) Matthews. It is unlikely that many of his constituents are even aware that *Billy* is merely a *nom de guerre*. For similar reasons, doubtless, Rev. Dr. Billy Graham long ago abandoned the full form of his name, which happens really to be William. ("We don't put on airs in God's family.") Diminutive forms occur frequently in combination with clipped forms, as in the previously mentioned Billy Joe and Billy Gene, and with non-hypocoristic forms, as in Billy Donald, Larry Leroy, and Jerry Roscoe.

I have collected scores of printed instances of diminutives and apparent diminutives used as legal names by adults, some of them adults of advanced years, some recently gone to their Great Reward. Most of these are commonplace enough (like Dannie, Davie, and Maxie), most are bisexual, and some are diminutives by virtue of their endings, without being necessarily derivative. Only Zippie (Mrs. Billy), Sippie, Vandie, Watie, Beadie, Lamie, Collie, Cossie, Ossie, Carlie (Mrs. Bobby), Omie (f.), Fonzy, Lonzie, Lokie, Mammie, Toppy, Schiley, Mealy, Bussie, Jadie Obie (m.), Nicy, Dicey, Ledgie, Raffie, Dilly, Coarsey, Sugie, Urksey, Skeety, and Ripsie seem to me particularly noteworthy, though I confess to a personal fondess for the comparatively conventional Early Bill and Jody Elijah.

[3] The preferred spelling of the *W*-form seems to be *Willie* rather than *Willy*.

Inasmuch as these diminutive forms occur in the most formal and dignified contexts, usually preceded by honorific, often with no front or middle initial, and sometimes with second name in full form, it is generally safe to assume that they are legal names. Occasionally, however, a newspaper item like "Mr. and Mrs. Bobby _____ are announcing the arrival of a son, Robert Craig" (*Sun*, Sept. 13, 1951, p. 4) leads to a somewhat different conclusion. Perhaps we may infer that the right to use the seemingly less dignified and presumably more "democratic" diminutive form is the father's prerogative. We can hope that, reversing what used to be the normal procedure, young Robert Craig will wax in folksy virtues to such an extent that he too may in time merit the juvenile form of his name which apparently symbolizes complete acceptance by one's fellows. Then he will really "belong."

Nor does the Bible Belt perceive any incongruity in the prefixing of professional, ecclesiastical, or political honorifics to diminutives and apparent diminutives. Dr. Billy and Dr. Lonnie are respected physicians in northern Florida. Dr. J. Ollie,[4] a native of Georgia, is president of a well-heeled anti-pedobaptist university in southern Florida. Hon. Toby, formerly a judge, is now one of Oklahoma's representatives in Washington. Hon. Jimmie is State Auditor for Arkansas. Hon. Eddie became a member of the Oklahoma State Legislature in an election in which Hon. Billy Joe was defeated despite his onomastic advantage. Hon. Zollie is Texas' Secretary of State. Hon. Charley is a member of the Florida State Senate and a former governor of the state. Hon. Jodie was re-elected chairman of Florida's Jackson County Commission in 1956. The full name of the mayor of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, is Hon. Offie Lites. Rev. Dr. Billy Graham, the most glamorous of the anti-pedobaptist theologians, has already been alluded to. My collectanea include such lesser luminaries as Rev. Ikie, Rev. Willie Lee, Rev. Woody, Rev. Jimmy, Rev. Tommy, Rev. Johnny, and Rev. Sister Lessie, all entrusted with the cure of souls in northern Florida and southern Georgia, of which northern Florida is, because of its settlement history, a cultural as well as a linguistic extension.

[4] The *J* stands for John. The preference for the style *J. Ollie* to *John O.* may indicate the superior standing of the diminutive, the feeling that *John* is lacking in distinction, or the prestige in America of an initial letter, preferably *J*, at the beginning of a name.

Clipped forms, although lacking the connotations of eternal juvenility possessed by the diminutive forms, are perhaps even more redolent of bonhomie and camaraderie — qualities highly regarded in our democracy. Judging from the contexts in which they occur, these also must be regarded as legal names. The assumption is strengthened by the fact that they are sometimes used in combination with a more formal designation, as in John Bob, Leslie Ike, and Guss [*sic*] Herbert. I have already cited Congressman Rayburn's statement that in his family to name a child Samuel rather Sam would have been regarded as putting on airs. Many of Hon. Sam's contrymen would seem to be at one with the Rayburn family. Oklahoma used to be represented in the U.S. Senate by Hon. Josh Lee, who in 1942 failed of re-election. He was opposed in the primary by two other Josh Lees, one a furniture dealer and the other a farmer. The state is now represented in the Senate by Hon. Mike Monroney,[5] and in the House by Hon. Ed and Hon. Tom, along with the aforementioned Hon. Toby. In the same legislative body Texas has, in addition to Hon. Sam Rayburn, Hon. Jim, Hon. Jack, and Hon. Joe. Representing Tennessee are Hon. Joe and Hon. Tom. Georgia, whose Secretary of State is Hon. Zack, is represented in Congress by Hon. Phil. Similarly with the hieratic title. There is no need to multiply examples; I shall content myself with citing the (doubtless inadvertently) alcoholically named Rev. Dr. Tom Collins (his full name), who is Moderator of the Jacksonville Baptist Association.

The extent to which this ordinary use of what were formerly considered nicknames has gone is indicated by the fact that 190, or more than 10 percent, of the 1,517 June graduates of the University of Oklahoma in 1950 bore names which were diminutives or clipped forms. This figure does not include hypocorisms unconnected etymologically with traditional names, coinages — the sort of "fancy" names to be discussed later — and names which were once regarded as nicknames but have long been commonly used as ordinary legal names, such as Ray, Betty, Harry, Frank, Don, and Bert.

Often a hypocoristic name becomes so closely identified with a person that it is customarily inserted in parentheses after his legal

[5] Originally Aylmer Stillwell Monroney and no anti-pedobaptist, he now uses the style A. S. Mike Monroney.

given names or initials. This retention of what in some instances must be by-names acquired in school is by no means confined to the Bible Belt though it is probably of more frequent occurrence in anti-pedobaptist civilization than in the Sodoms and Gomorrahs of the Atlantic Coast. I must confess that I was brought up suddenly by the following item from the Gainesville *Sun* (Oct. 1, 1952, p. 5): "Friends of Mr. A. W. (Poopy) Roundtree, Sr., will be interested to know that he is recuperating following an operation in Lake City." Similar, if less colorful, specimens, all taken from printed sources, are Tootie, Tucky, Bus, Tiny (male principal of an elementary school), and Lefty. Hon. Juanita (Skeet), a former mayor of High Springs, Florida, is now languishing in durance vile at the State Penitentiary for moonshining activities. Hon. E. L. (Tic) Forester is a representative of Georgia in the U.S. Congress. Rev. Charles E. (Stoney) Jackson came into national prominence some time back as a participant in one of the TV quiz shows. Hon. J. Emory (Red) Cross represents his home county in the Florida State Legislature; his hair is not red.

The use of a parenthetical *derivative* nickname in one's formal style is of course not unusual among popular men, e.g., Hon. W. A. (Bill), the style of a Florida State Senator whose name is actually William. Sometimes, however, a popular man may use a nickname which is derivative from some name other than his own, for example, Hon. Harold L. (Tom) (former Chief Justice of the Florida Supreme Court), Rev. A. A. (Bob), who is pastor of the Ramona Boulevard Baptist Church, Jacksonville, and Rev. H. G. (Pat), who is pastor of a drive-in church, succeeding Rev. Jimmy. Judging by the frequency of their occurrence in such contexts, Pete and Pat seem to be overwhelming favorites. That the style is not limited to the Bible Belt is indicated by its adoption by the Governor of California, Edmund G. (Pat) Brown.

I am convinced that such forms as Buddy, Bubba, Bud, Buck, Sonny, Bunnie, and Buster, which occur with an almost nauseating frequency, are legal names, not merely alternate names like those cited just previously, since they appear alone in formal connotations without quotation marks. They are frequently preceded by honorifics, as in an account of a reception following alarge church wedding at which Mrs. Buddy was "floor hostess" — whatever that is — and Mrs. Buster greeted guests. (*Times-Union*, Feb. 20, 1949,

p. 11.) The ceremony might have been performed either by Rev. Buck or by Rev. Buddy, both of whom are in my files, but I regret to say that it was not. A third-generation Buddy is indicated in "A.O.M. 2-c. Buddy E. C. Kelly III, son of Mrs. Clara Kelly and the late Mr. Buddy E. C. Kelly, Jr."[6] A new trend may be indicated by the fact that a Mr. and Mrs. Buddy named their son Ronald Eugene (*Times-Union*, Aug. 18, 1958, p. 22) and a Mr. and Mrs. Sonny named theirs Randy Allen (*loc. cit.*).

Because they share a certain indefinable folksy quality which is highly regarded in the inland South, I have grouped the following names, some of them derivative forms, together; all are borne by substantial citizens: Lum, Dub, Teet, Quince, Zack, Zeph, Zeb, Clem, Wash, and Sim. Had I never been privileged to live in the Bible Belt, I should have thought to this day that their only existence was in the literature of backhouse humor. *Ish*, though it had no previous associations for me, seems to me nevertheless to have the same homely, down-to-earth flavor. It is borne by Hon. Ish W. Brant, Superintendent of Public Instruction of Duval County, Florida (the county seat of which is Jacksonville), who has the additional distinction of being governor of the Florida District of Kiwanis International. When Hon. Ish was merely a candidate for the political office which he now holds with grace and distinction, his campaign slogan was "Ish Is Everybody's Wish." His opponents were Mr. Coke L. Barr and Mrs. Iva Sprinkle.

Many a Bible Belter who is a democrat by conviction boasts a title as given name. Etymologically Leroy, with principal stress on the first syllable in Bible Belt pronunciation, belongs here, but it is doubtful that parents who so name their male offspring are aware of its dynastic meaning. I have collected a Leroy King, and so has Mr. Crowell (*Am. Sp.*, XXIII, 272), along with Roy King and Leroy Prince. From royalty and the peerage come Hon. Czar D. Langston, a high-ranking official of the State of Oklahoma, listed in the current *Who's Who in the South and Southwest*; King Pharaoh (d. *aet.* 65, *Times-Union*, Sept. 22, 1951, p. 3), Queen Adina (d. *aet.* 81, *ibid.*, Aug. 21, 1951, p. 10), and Queen Victoria, whose surname is Cambridge (*Sun*, July 2, 1958, p. 8); three Princesses; Hon. Prince Preston, U.S. Congressman from Georgia, and Prince

[6] This gem appeared in the Gainesville *Sun*. The cutting is in my possession, but I carelessly neglected to take down the date.

Albert, a Floridian whose only distinction known to me other than his name was his involvement in a minor automobile accident (*Sun*, Oct. 4, 1953, p. 12); Regent Gaskin, who is a Master of Education; Rev. Dr. Duke McCall, who is President of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary; Baron Darvis, a Bachelor of Arts in Education; three Ladies — Lady Grace, Lady Jane, and Lady Percy; and one baronet — or perhaps he is only a knight — Sir Maud. More democratically inclined were the parents of the gentlemen named President (*Sun*, April 15, 1956, p. 26), Electer (*Sun*, May 6. 1958, p. 1), and Chancellor Irving (M.S. in Agriculture, Univ. of Florida, 1951). The family doctor has perhaps been honored in the names of four Docs, one of them a Dr. Doc, whose dissertation subject was "Refinement of an Instrument to Determine Certain of the Working Patterns of School Principals" (Gainesville, Fla., 1956).

The armed services have been a prolific source of names. My collections include General Phillips and Lieutenant Tisdale, who were inducted into the army as privates at Knoxville, Tennessee (*Times-Union*, March 11, 1952, p. 5); Major General Williams, who at the age of 17 enlisted in Birmingham, Alabama, as a member of the Marine Corps, explaining to reporters that his parents decided to name him something "everybody else wasn't" (*Times-Union*, Jan. 11, 1958, p. 17); and General Morgan, who died in Waycross, Georgia, in 1952, survived by a son named Colonel. But it is unnecessary to multiply examples of generals who have never heard the roar of cannon fire; I have many more. I consider General Salor [*sic*] (*Sun*, Sept. 24, 1954, p. 8) and General Ulysses Grant (his full name) who graduated from the University of Florida in 1956 with a B.S. in Education, to be my prize specimens. I pray that General Grant does not encounter discrimination if he is now practicing his chosen profession in the Confederacy. Colonel and Major are also popular, but I have only a single Cap, a single Ensign, a single (aforementioned) Lieutenant, and, it is perhaps needless to say, no Sergeants, Corporals, or Privates. Bishop and Judge occur a number of times, but these are probably family names, particularly the first when borne by anti-episcopalians. Missie Frankie was a first-year student in the University of Florida in 1957–58, and may well now be a sophomore for all I know.

When one has the same surname as a great man or woman, the temptation to confer his or her given name (or names) upon one's

offspring — and in the case of the aforementioned General Ulysses Grant, a title as well — is for many Bible Belters practically irresistible. (In the examples which follow I shall of course be required to give surnames.) Enrollment records at the University of Florida since 1900 disclose the fact that its student body has included, as is to be expected, a good many Robert E. Lees, along with a number of Andrew Jacksons and Benjamin Franklins. My researches in the newspapers and telephone directories have brought to light Lon Chaney, Gloria Swanson, Jefferson Davis, Woodrow Wilson, George K. Washington and his daughter Martha, William H. Taft, Dick Whittington, and Josh Billings. When Abe Lincoln of Oklahoma City made a contribution to that city's United Fund, the fact was considered newsworthy by the Associated Press (*Sun*, Dec. 4, 1958, p. 7), but no Oklahoman would consider it anything out of the ordinary, for in that state alone Daniel Boone, Oliver Cromwell, Joe E. Brown, Mae West, Joan Crawford, Brigham Young, Al Jennings, Will Rogers, Huey Long, Jack Dempsey, William Cullen Bryant, and Robert Burns have all aspired to, and some have held, political office. As Secretary of the American Dialect Society, I was always delighted to receive a cheque for the subscription of the University of Texas signed by, of all people, Jesse James, Texas State Treasurer. Bryan Jennings, of Norman, Oklahoma, Lee Grant, formerly of the University of Florida, and De Leon Ponce, late of Jacksonville, Florida, present interesting anomalies.

The practice of naming children from celebrities is of course universal, only the choice of celebrity having any sociological interest. The classical influence is strong in the Bible Belt, e.g., Euclid, Orion, Marcus Tony, Plato, Corydon, Amazon (m.) Hanabal [*sic*], Julius Cicero, Virgil Q., Ovid, Solon, and Leda. The French ending *-ous* in Latin names (and Hebrew names which have come to us via Latin) is found in Arelious, Olynthous, Romulous, Julious, Lucious, and the like. Omer and Ector, the French forms used in Middle English times and later replaced in educated usage by the classical forms with *h*, survive in the Southern hills and their settlement areas. Omar, as in the name of General Omar Bradley (b. in Missouri), is no Mahometan name, but merely a spelling of Omer and usually so pronounced. The Book of Books holds its own with Amanuel [*sic*], Jacob, the aforementioned King Pharaoh, John the

Baptist, Dorcas, Nazarine [*sic*], Hezikiah [*sic*], Zadok, Hosea, Malachi, Juda, and Lazarous [*sic*]. An Onan who graduated from the University of Oklahoma in 1950 and another of the same name who died in Florida in 1954, aged 74 (*Times-Union*, Jan. 23, 1954, p. 7) were apparently not named from the ungallant gentleman in the 38th chapter of *Genesis* - at least it is to be hoped not; I think it more likely that the name in question is an independent creation of parental fancy.

Belles lettres, the drama, and music are represented in my files by Casanova (b. 1950), Amber Marteen, two Romeos, Trilby, two Ouidas, Thais, Melba, Orlando, Tiny Tim, Oberon (f.), two Annie Lauries, Ivanhoe Elizabeth, St. Elmo, Kathleen Mavourneen, Tom Mix, Rob Roy, and, strange as its occurrence in a Deep-South Caucasian may seem, Othello. Tommy Tucker, Tom Sawyer, and Buster Brown are the full names of adults. Geographical names include Cuba (and Cubie, which may represent an old-fashioned pronunciation), which I should have supposed to be bisexual, though the two specimens which I have are male; Persia (f.) Savanah [*sic*] (f.), Utah (m.), Arizona (m.), Missoura [*sic*] (f.), and Venice (m.).[7] Botavia [*sic*] and Odessa are probably to be explained as fanciful creations rather than place names.

A number of bisexual names have already been cited. Lee, Pat, Jo(e), Robin, and Lynn are doubtless given to boys and girls indiscriminately all over the country nowadays, and can hardly be considered Bible Belt names. The following names, which are usually feminine or which one would expect to be feminine, are borne by males in the inland South: Paulyne, Pearlie, Delories, Fay, Adell, Ardelle, Ellie, Bonnie, June, Junell, Merrilett Jessie, Loice, Jewell, Bernice (also Burnice), Ivy, Buna Joe, Pink, Jonice, Dixie, Beryl, Nance, Bronzell, Alvine, Nolia, Cledith, Dee, Elizie, Gayle, Rae, Ovida, Jackie Jo, Sam Ella, Laurie, Carman, Verdell, Juadean, Lorraine, Sharon Lee, Amander, Berta, and Euzema, Jr. Conversely, the following apparently masculine names are borne by females: Terry (also -ie, -i), Gil, Stacy, Tracy, Bobbie, Laddie, Mick, Mickie, Ira, Bennie, Benjie, Mackie, Willie, Jimmie, Tommy, Kimberly Ann, Kelley, Nigel, Vincent, Juan, Billie Joe, Danny, Deane,

[7] Crowell, *Am. Sp.*, XXIII, 270, has many more specimens of geographical names used as given names.

Don, Page, Toni, Maxie, Montez, Nathan, Sandy, Glen, Sammie, and Henri.[8] The popularity of LaVoid and LaVerne, both bisexual, I am totally at a loss to explain. It may be that some of these onomastic reversals of sex may be due to the desire to name a male child after his mother, or a female child after her father. A number of names borne by females are somehow formed from the given name of a male relative, usually the father, e.g., Julie Anne (dau. of Julian), Philelle, Lloydene, Gina (dau. of Gene), Basilene (dau. of Alfred Basil), Charlsie, Dennisteen, Donita (dau. of J. Don), Elmerine, Johnita (dau. of Johnny), Orvillyne, Harolyn (dau. of Harold), and Methadene (dau. of Metha).

When, like Mrs. Hoyette White, quoted at the beginning of this paper, people set out to make up names, they tend to follow certain well-established principles. Pure root creations, some of which will be cited later, are somewhat less common than creations with conventional affixes. Blends and compounds occur fairly often, such as Sherliana, Jamesvee (f., perhaps from James V., father's name?), Beneva (Ben + Eva?), Neldagae, Bettijane, Joashley (m.), Texanna, Charlouise, Vickianne, Loiciebelle, Kalynn, Annijane, Alimae, Jimton (f., civil defense chairman for the Arlington Woman's Club of Jacksonville, *Times-Union*, Nov. 24, 1957, p. 49), Marijac, Marynelle, Marytom, Suellen, JoNez (Joe + Inez?), and Joella. The highly ingenious ChaRu (*Sun*, Nov. 16, 1952, p. 14) is probably a combination of Charles with Ruth or Ruby; in any case, the father's name is Charles. When bisexual Lugene (or Lougene) is a girl's name it is probably a blend of Lou and Gene, both of which are also bisexual. As a boy's name it may possibly be a riming form of Eugene, which is very popular in the South. The opposite tendency occurs in Joe Cephus, Emma Lena, Fitch Gerald, Cad Walder, Do Remus, Cull Pepper, Shir Lee, and Hezzie Kiye.

The riming principle just alluded to doubtless accounts for such curiosities as Jenneth, Jarold, Flemuel, Arlysle (f.), Veryl (m., suggested by Beryl, common among Bible Belt males?), Vernice (bisexual), Rinda, Valcom, Dolive, Taura (f.), Burtis, Lurtis, Hertis, Burnest, Bernon, Harl, Bloria, Glennard, Verton, Floyce, Dorma, Derl, Verl, Flarain (m., suggested by bisexual Lorraine?), Lomer,

[8] This last is also cited by Crowell, *loc. cit.*, p. 271, along with other bisexual names which I have not encountered.

Mevelin, and Delain. Occasionally there may be internal instead of initial change, as in Zenokia, which was almost certainly suggested by Zenobia.

I hasten to cite a few miscellaneous whimsicalities, all full names, which have appealed to me for one reason or another: Oleander Lafayette Fitzgerald III, Ed Ek, Shellie Swilley, Early Hawaiian McKinnon, Sandy Gandy, Earl Curl, Jr., Percy Nursey, Rev. Fay de Sha (m.), Lovie Slappey, Esperanza Le Socke, Pamela Gay Day, Staff-Sgt. Mehogany Brewer, Girlie Burns, Fawn Grey Trawick Dunkle, Alure Sweat (f., sister of Alfa, Alta, Sabry, and the late Cleveland Sweat [*Times-Union*, Feb. 12, 1958, p. 22]), Bloomer Bedenbaugh, Martha Magdalene Toot, Okla Bobo, and Melody Clinkenbeard. The last-cited given name may be bisexual, for a fellow townsman of Miss Clinkenbeard's is Hon. Melody Reynolds, an officer of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Norman, Oklahoma. The same bisexuality seems to be characteristic of Memory: Hon. Memory Martin is lieutenant governor of division 6, Florida Kiwanis district, as well as a former school teacher and principal; my files also disclose Memorie Frances Griner, whom I take to be female from the spelling of the second name. Hon. Cowboy Pink Williams, former Lieutenant Governor of Oklahoma, was defeated to succeed himself in 1958 despite a style which should have endeared him to all Southwesterners. It is possible that Cowboy Pink is merely a *nom de guerre*, but the hon. gentleman is so listed in the 1958 *World Almanac* and in the *Britannica* Yearbook.

In the whimsies which follow I omit surnames: Dawn Robin, Kitty Bit, Lance Amorus, Lovely, Charme, Greek (f.), Pearl Garnet, Dimple, Dixie, Pixianne, Cherry, Orchid Favia (f.), Rose Bud, Satire, Fairy (a missionary of the Church of the Nazarene to Africa, *Times-Union*, Jan. 26, 1952, p. 6), Acid, Buzz Buzz, Tyty, Hubert Herbert, Kae Rae, Mary Sunshine, Boysy, Madonna Ruth, Delyte, Doe, Dovey, Echo, Edelweiss, and Brunette (who turned out to be a blonde). The children of Mr. Stanford Bardwell, a realtor and a graduate of Louisiana State University, and his wife Loyola, are Stanford, Jr., Harvard, Princeton, Cornell, Auburn, and the twins Duke and T'lane. When the Bardwells go on holiday they travel in a specially equipped school bus called the "Collegiate Caravan." (*Times-Union*, Aug. 29, 1954, p. 13.)

The following combinations of given name and surname represent the conscious, if misguided, humor of parents with no priestly hand to guide or restrain them, though some are doubtless to be attributed simply to parental naïveté: Pleasant Weathers, Honey Combs, French Crown, Golden Gamble, Royal Child, Goode Carr, Early Priest, Robin Starling, Paris Singer, Paris Miracle, Etta Turnipseed, Summer Robbins, Shari Glass, Fannie Bottom, Love Snow (f.), Rocky Mountain, Alto Hooten, Early Wages, Drew Swords, English Piper, Candy Barr, and Minor Peeples. Everyone has by now doubtless heard of Dill L. Pickle, of Rolling Fork, Mississippi, who grew up to be a pickle salesman for Paramount Foods, a Louisville concern. Less widely publicized are Never Fail of Oklahoma City, who did fail to graduate from Harding Junior High School in that city (*Sun*, May 26, 1950, p. 7) and Dr. Safety First of Tulsa, Oklahoma. I have elsewhere recorded Bunker Hill, Charming Fox, Ima Fox, Diamond Queen, France Paris, Jack Frost, Winter Frost, Merry English, Erie Lake, Pinky Bottom, Virgin Muse, and Fairy Guy, among a good many other such jocular and would-be jocular names (*American Speech*, XXIII [1947], 263). It seems to me unlikely that any of these names — and they are legal names, not nicknames — were conferred in the course of administering the sacrament of baptism.

The bulk of my collection comprises what for want of a better term we may call made-up names — many of them root creations, some with prefixes like *Le*, *La*, *De*, and *Du* (used without the slightest reference to gender, as in La Don [m.] and Le Vaughn [f.], and suffixes like *elda*, *etta*, *eta*, *dean*, *ine*, *ena*, *elle*, and others, which usually designate females, though I have some in *ell*(*e*) which are borne by males.

So that the full beauty of these manifestation of the linguistic fancy of a people unhampered by ecclesiastical or civil authority or by onomastic traditions may be savored, I have arranged a few from my collection in octosyllabics. When I began to do this, I expected very little, but what has emerged has, it seems to me, a certain poetic quality, along with a certain power of allusiveness in its *Klang*-associations. *Metris causa* — i.e., because I needed a few monosyllables — I have had to include some names which more properly belong in other categories.

1

Yerdith, Virtus, Frow, LaDonna,
Nishie, Alderine, Zollie, Conna;
Garalene, Methalene, Ethelyne, Fal,
Bennilene, Gatsey, Ripsie, Ral.

2

Dolliree, Jetteree, Mauderie, Flem,
Nubit, Wogan, Omria, Kem;
Pheriba, Yuba, Twylah Jo,
Ovidetta, Zava Roe.

3

Leos, Cubie, Dicie, Metha,
Shi, Revonie, Sag, Uretha;
Arsie, Kissie, Bussie, Missie,
Yada, Telka, Clell, Elissie.

4

Ozena, Madula, Oleta, Zippie,
Ozella, Schiley, Florine, Rippie;
Amorus, Onan, Coeta, Pasco,
Reion, Merkin, Jeline, Vasco.

5

Incia, Phenis, Phalla, Icy,
Idlene, Birdene, Ala, Nicy.
Rectus, Dilly, Dally, Nil;
Mosco, Oco, Rumbo, Zill.

6

Stobo, Chlorine, Bamma, Floyce,
Willamane, Voncile, Thair, La Voice;
O'Leita, La Gita, Ludille, La Coy,
Arnetta, Loonis, Fanida, Hoy.

7

Shira, Reva, Terrayne, Aslean,
Etrelle, Mardelle, La Nan, Rudine.
Zazzelle, Glathu, Lavora, Troy,
Colonys, Wylodean, Cy, La Joy.

8

Alfa, Alto, Shyne, Arveta,
Pledger, Mortis, Cance, La Nita;
Anys, Cyrese, Bink, Eloyde,
Verdine, Merdine, Pink, La Void.

9

Raysal, Quintelle, Raz, Zerene,
Estyl, Bytha, Bevelene;
Boysy, Lugen, Lavator, Lake,
Eskaleen, Lueverine, Voline, Flake.

10

La Vada, La Voime, Donrue, La Nelle,
Kartaleen, Avalene, Zan, Jamelle;
Ronalene, Darlene, Denna Fo,
Japnel, Oynel, Wynell, Bo.

11

Vivett, La Carl, La Bruce, La Don,
La Vondus, Burtis, Joette, Lavon;
Zedro, Velpo, Bryna Lee,
Zefferine, Windell, Zim, La Mee.

University of Florida

A Sixteenth-Century Glossary of the Bible

D. T. STARNES

In his stimulating article "And Adam Gave Names" (*Names*, VI) Mr. George R. Stewart suggests a rich field for investigation. Among the books of a later period which might be useful in such a study there is a scarce Renaissance glossary of the Bible which deserves special attention. My purpose here is to describe this glossary and to suggest its significance for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In 1527–28 Robert Stephanus (Estienne) of the famous French family of classical scholars and printers, published in folio his Latin *Biblia* together with an elaborate glossary and an index of words and things.[1] This glossary and index were published in octavo, 1537, without the Biblical text. The title page of this volume, which begins *Hebraea*, *Chaldaea*, *Graeca*, *et Latina nomina* ..., may be Englished thus:

> Names, Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, and Latin, of men, women, peoples, idols, cities, rivers, mountains, and of all other places in the Scriptures, set in alphabetical order with a Latin interpretation. ... Also an index of things and ideas contained in the Bible. ... Paris, from the press of Robert Stephanus, 1537.

Although I have not found any edition of the *Hebraea ... nomina* later than 1537, the contents of this glossary would have been well known through the Latin *Biblia* of Stephanus, which went through six editions by 1557.[2] Also in 1553, our glossary of Biblical terms was absorbed in the Latin dictionary of proper names, compiled by Charles Stephanus, brother of Robert. But this is to anticipate.

The method of the glossary may be observed in the opening, reproduced on p. 106 of this essay. Hebrew and Greek terms are

[1] Elizabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer* (Cambridge University Press, 1954), pp. 11–12 *et passim.* [2] *Ibid.*

printed in the outer margins; and the text proper, arranged in alphabetical order, is in Latin. Each entry generally is followed by its etyma or words and phrases indicating the primitive meaning. See, for example, *Thomas*, *Thophel*, and *Thubal* in the photostatic reproduction. Then follow the identification and description of the name and its application together with the pertinent references to the Scriptures where the word is found.

In some of the entries the author supplies descriptions and references from authorities other than the Bible. See *Tiberias* (photostat), in which Stephanus cites Josephus and Egesippus; and *Tigris* which draws largely from Solinus. Damascus has, besides a dozen Biblical references, citations of Justinus, St. Jerome, and Tertullian. The entry *s. v. Babylon* is supported by a cluster of classical and mediaeval authorities — Josephus, St. Augustine, Pliny, Strabo, Herodotus, and Pomponius Mela.

Three entries of medium length and without reference to authorities outside the Scriptures are *Heliopolis*, *Syria* and *Tharsis*. As these seem to be fairly typical, I here present a rough translation of each:

> *Heliopolis*, which in the Hebrew is called On, may be interpreted as grief, or sadness, or fortitude. In Greek, Heliopolis is translated as the city of the sun. It is also a city of Aegypt which is other wise called Thebes.
>
> *Syria*, in Hebrew called Aram, is interpreted as noble or sublime, or beguiling, or their slander. The region is called Aram from the son of Sem (Shem) who established the Arameans, whom the Greeks call Syrians. Syria, once the greatest of the lands, was distinguished by many names. See Mesopotamia ...
>
> *Tharsis*, contemplation of joy, or a searching out of marble, or a turtle of joy, or a chrysolite stone ... The son of Javan. gen. 10. a. d. It is also the name of a region once called Cilicia, from Tharsis the son of Javan. 3. reg. 10. d. ... Whence the chief city of this region, having changed Theta (Th) to Tau (T), obtained the name of Tarsus. In the Acts of the Apostles this word is written without the aspirate. Vide *Tarsus*. Some suppose Tharsis to be the Mediterranean Sea.

Of other entries, especially those concerned with items in the Old Testament, we may list the following as typical: *Arnon*, *Asmodeus*, *Azotus* (*Asdod*), *Baal*, *Ber-sabee* (*Beersheba*), *Ephraim*, *Eshtaol*, *Hebron*, *Labana*, *Nesroch*, *Rabba*, *Samaria*, *Siloe*, *Thophet* (*Tophet*). To some of these we shall return for illustrations.

So much for the form and content of the *Hebrae ... nomina*. What can be said of its subsequent history and influence? As suggested above, this Latin glossary of the Bible, except the Hebrew and Greek names in the margin, was absorbed by the more comprehensive *Dictionarium Historicum, Geographicum, Poeticum* (1553) of Charles Stephanus. This book went through many editions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Latin-English lexicographers of the seventeenth century borrowed freely from the *Dictionarium*, including many of the Bible glossary entries. See, for example, Francis Gouldman's *Copious Dictionary in Three Parts* (1664) and Adam Littleton's *Latine Dictionary in Four Parts* (1678). Annotations of the proper names in the marginal notes of the Geneva Bible often depend, directly or indirectly, on the 1537 glossary. Through the Bible notes and the dictionary this glossary was given a vicarious existence to the end of the seventeenth century.

Details of the relationships of this early glossary to subsequent proper name dictionaries, to Biblical annotations, and to literature must await treatment in another essay. Two illustrations[3] may suggest, however, the nature of these relationships.

AZOTUS (ASDOD)

> *Glossary*, 1537. Azotus, Hebraice dicitur Asdod, id est, depraedatio, sive ignis dilecti, aut ignis patrui. Insignis Palaesthinae vrbs inter Ascalonem & Ioppen in tribu Dan, in qua gigantes habitarunt, capta a Iesue duce, Iosue 11. Sorte cessit tribui Iudae, Iosue. 15f. Haec vna e quinque civitatibu(s) Allophylorum, templo Dagon idoli nobilitata, 1. regum. 6. ...
>
> *Dictionarium*. 1595. (The language is the same as in the Glossary.)

[3] George W. Whiting, *Milton and This Pendant World* (University of Texas Press, 1958), pp. 134–135, suggested these illustrations.

Geneva Bible, 1607. Azotus or Ashdod is a famous city in the land of Palestine.

Paradise Lost (1. 462). *Dagon* his name ...
... yet had his Temple high
Rear'd in *Azotus*, dreaded through the coast
Of *Palestine*, in *Gath*, and *Ascalon*,
And *Accaron* and *Gaza's* frontier bounds.

Samson Agonistes, 980 ff. (Dalila speaking).
But in my country where I most desire,
In *Ekron*, *Gaza*, *Asdod*, and in *Gath*
I shall be named among the famousest.

Since the Glossary and the *Dictionarium* entries on *Azotus* are the same in phrasing and content, no comment is required. The Geneva Bible shows little relationship to the dictionary entries though "a famous city in the land of Palestine" could be a translation of the "Insignis Palesthinae vrbs." Of more interest is the possible relation of the passages in *Paradise Lost* and *Samson Agonistes* to the glossary-dictionary entry *Azotus*.

Azotus (*Asdod*) celebrated for the temple of the idol Dagon, the mention of Palestine and Ascalon in the entry and the reference to the five cities of Philistia are all noteworthy here. Milton not only refers to the famous temple of Dagon but mentions the coast of Palestine, and specifies the cities of the Philistines — Azotus, Gath, Ascalon, Accaron, and Gaza; and Milton's spelling of these names is the same as that found in the glossary-dictionary.

In *Samson*, Dalila is thinking of the principal cities of Philistia. She begins with the northernmost Philistine city, Ekron (Accaron), as Merritt Y. Hughes notes,[4] and next names the southernmost, Gaza, and then two other principal cities of Philistia to suggest that she will be known everywhere. In the various versions of the Bible, we read *Ashdod*. Milton uses the Hebrew form *Asdod* as in the glossary-dictionary.

[4] *Paradise Regained, The Minor Poems,* and *Samson Agonistes* (Doubleday Doran, 1937), p. 584N.

THOPHETH (TOPHET)

Glossary. Thopheth, Tympanum, vel seductio, aut dilatatio. Locus est in valle filii Ennom: qui cernitur in Ierosolymae suburbanis, vbi quondam parentes filios igni exustos deuouebant, et immolabant daemonio Moloch, isa. 30. g. iere. 7. g. 19. d.

Dictionarium. (The entry is the same as in the Glossary except the first sentence is placed at the end of the *Dictionarium* entry.)

Geneva Bible. Tophet or Topheth is defined: "A place in the valley of the sonnes of Hinnom, which is in the suburbs of Jerusalem, where parentes were wont to offer their children half burnt in the fire to the devill Moloch."

Paradise Lost, 1.392. First Moloch horrid king besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears ...
..... the wisest heart
Of Solomn he led by fraud to build
His Temple right against the Temple of God
On that opprobious hill and made his Grove
The pleasant valley of Hinnom, Tophet thence
And black Gehenna call'd, the type of Hell.

Again the glossary-dictionary entries are the same. The annotation of the Geneva Bible appears to be a direct translation of the glossary entry, except the omission of the first sentence. In the glossary, in the Geneva Bible, and in Paradise Lost, Moloch is associated with the valley of Hinnom and Tophet and he is the idol to whom parents offer their children as burnt sacrifices.

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iudic.1.b.nume.23.c.Rex Gessur,2.reg.3.d.1.para.3.e

Tholomai,Idē.Filiꝰ Ammiud regis Gessur,2.reg.13.g

Thomas,Abyssus vel geminus:& Græce didymus appellatur, quod interpretatur gemellus, id est ille qui cū alio vno & eodem partu nascitur. D. Vnus ex Apostolis,matth.10.a.iohan.11.b

תמל Thophel, Ruina,aut stultitia,siue mollities,aut impiditas. Locus est in deserto trans Iordanem è regione Iericho, vbi Moses quintum librum edidit, deut.1.a

תפת Thopheth, Tympanum, vel seductio,aut dilatatio. Locus est in valle filii Ennom:qui cernitur in Ierosolymæ suburbanis, vbi quondam parentes filios igni exustos denouebant,& immolabant dæmonio Moloch,isa. 30.g.ierc.7.g.19.d

תופו Thopo,Locus.G. Nomen loci, 1.machab.9.e.Scribe Topo.

תיעץ Thosaiter, Dissipatio vel dissipatus,aut exiens,1.paralip.11.g

תעי Thou, Errans.Rex Emath,2.reg.8.c.1.para.18.c

Thraces, Asperi vel saxosi.G. Populi,2.mach.12.f

Thrasea,Audax,vel temerarius.G.

תבל Thubal, Orbis vel mundanus, aut confusio vel ignominia,seu portatus vel adductus. Filius Iapheth, genes. 10.a. A quo Iberes(licet quidam Italos suspicētur) originem traxerunt,ezech.27.c

Thyatira, Odor siue sacrificium laboris vel contritionis.G.Vrbs Lydiæ regionis in Asia minore: Macedonū habitatio, quam nonnulli Myssorum vltimam dicunt, act.16.c.apoc.2.g

Thyatireni, Idem.p.a.

T I

Tiberias, Bona visio, vel vmbilicus, aut cōfractio.D. Vrbs Galilææ ad mare sita,quod ab ipsa ciuitate appellatur mare Tiberiadis,iohan.6. Hāc ciuitatem olim Cennereth appellatam, Herodes Tetrarcha in honorem Tiberii Cæsaris condidit,& Tiberiadem vocauit,teste Io-

sepho lib.18.cap.4.antiq. Iudaic.& Eusippo lib.1.cap.5.iuxta quem dominus stupendo miraculo pauit multitudinem populi paucis panibus,iohan.6.

Tiberius, Idem. D. Imperator quidam apud Romanos,luc.3.a

חדקל Tigris, Hebraice dicitur Hidēcel,& interpretatur acumen velocitatis, aut acutus sonitus vel vox, seu lætus sonitus, vel læta velocitas:aut ex Syro & Hebræo,vna vox,vel vnisonus, aut vnica velocitas. Fluuius qui Mesopotamiam amplectitur,& in Armeniæ maioris regione caput tollit, miræ quām lucido, conspicuōque fonte in loco edito,qui Elongosine nominatur. Euphrātem in sinum defert Persicum cum amne Coaspe. Hæc Solinus.gen.2.c

Timæus, Cæcus vel excitas. D. Pater Bartimæi, marc.10.g

Timon,Honorabilis vel pretiosus. Nomē diaconi ex septē Iosdem,act.6.b

Timōtheus,Honor dei, vel honorans deum, aut pretiosus deo.G.Discipulus quidam Paulo charus,de quo act.16.a

Titus,Honorabilis. G.Nomen viri, cognomento Iustus, act.18.b

T O

טוב Tob,Bonus,siue bonitas.Nomen terræ ad quam fugit Iephte, iudic.11.a. Verisimile est esse in tribu Gad: fugere enim noluit ad alienigenas,ad Ammonitas, vel Gessuri.

טוב אדניה Tob-adonias, Bonus dominator dominus, aut bona basis domini. Nomen viri,2.para.17.b

טוביה Tobia,siue Tobias, Bonus dominus,siue bonitas domini.Nomen viri,1.esd.1.c.zach.6.d

Toparchia, Territorium.G.

T R

Traconitis,Saxosa vel aspera. G.Syriæ regio, quæ & Ituræa dicta est, iuxta Arabiæ desertum, quod Bostræ

Jan Mayen

FRANK H. TROLLE-STEENSTRUP

A small island in the Arctic Ocean may set the record for being identified by more names than any other island, and despite this, still retaining the name of its discoverer over three hundred years ago.

The island Jan Mayen is situated in the Greenland Sea about 250 miles off Liverpool Land on the east coast of Greenland and 300 miles north of Iceland. Although small in size compared with other Arctic islands Jan Mayen has an extinct volcano, Beerenberg, on it which except for certain nunataks in Greenland is the highest mountain within the Arctic Circle. This volcanic mountain makes a striking landmark and is visible from more than 100 miles away.

The earliest reference to the island occurs in the Icelandic Landnámabók where it is referred to as Svalbard. There it is written that "from Langanes on the north side of Iceland it is a four doegr's sea voyage to Svalbard (i.e. the cold coast) on the north in Hafsbotn." The early Scandinavians meant the end of the sea to the north of Norway and northeast of Greenland when they used the term "Hafsbotn," in the same manner in which they today refer to "Ishavet." A doegr was a 12 hour sail so by this it can be seen that they referred to Svalbard as being a 48 hour sailing distance from the northern portion of Iceland. Jan Mayen is 300 miles distant from there, whereas the present day Svalbard (sometimes erroneously referred to as Spitsbergen) is some 900 miles distant. It would appear from this that the reference was to Jan Mayen as Svalbard rather than to the more distant island group. As the Norsemen's seafaring activities declined during the 14th and 15th centuries the existence of Svalbard or Jan Mayen was forgotten and it was not until the seventeenth century during the time that the English and Dutch were rivals in whaling in the Arctic that

the island was rediscovered. In England Hudson has generally been credited with the discovery, whereas in Holland Jan Jacobsz May has always been given the credit.

In England Thomas Edge in his "Briefe Discoverie of the Northerne Discoveries of Seas, Coasts and Countries, etc.," printed in "Purcheas His Pilgrimes," says:

> In the yeere 1608 the said fellowship set foorth a Ship called the Hope-well, whereof William Hudson was Master, to discover to the Pole, where it appeareth by his Journall, that he came to the height of 81. degrees, where he gave Names to Certayne places, upon the Continent of Greenland formerly discovered, which continue to this day, namely, Whale Bay, and Hackluit Headland, and being hindred with Ice, returned home without further use of the Countrey, and in ranging homewards hee discovered an Iland lying in 71. degrees which hee named Hudsons Tutches.

Obviously the above relation by Edge is incorrect as Hudson himself has given an account of the voyage and makes absolutely no mention of Hudson's Tutches.[1] There is therefore no justification for accepting Edge's narrative as it has never been substantiated. It is very possible that rumor among the Hull seafarers who might have been there, accounted for this garbled version having been written by Edge.

The account of the Dutch discovery of the island is much more reliable as mention of the discovery is found in a document dated 29 August 1615 in the Dutch Archives at the Hague. This account is a request to the States General by the Noordsche Compagnie to have the discovery accepted as made in July 1614 by their two ships "De goude Cath" and "Den Orangienboom." Jan Jacobsz May was the captain of one of these ships with Joris Carolus as mate. The company had been forced to put forward this claim as a ship from a rival company captained by Jan Jansz Kerckhoff had also visited the island the same summer.

May's discovery is confirmed by recent findings in the Depot des Cartes de la Marine in Paris of the original map drawn in the year 1614 by Joris Carolus on which he calls the island after him-

[1] J. M. Wordie, Geographical Journal, Vol. LIX, 1922, p. 182.

self, "Mr. Joris Eylandt."[2] It is interesting to note that the name given to the island by the mate disappeared quickly and was replaced by the more appropriate captain's name (Blaeu 1623-Zee Atlas), and even Joris Carolus on his map drawn in 1634 names it as "Mr. Joris al Jan Mayen Eylandt."[3]

Jan Jansz Kerckhoff named the island Mauritius or St. Maurice[1] in honor of Prince Maurice of Nassau, and it was known as this by the Dutch during the peak years of Arctic whaling which finally faded out in 1642.

The first authenticated visit of an Englishman to the island was made by Robert Fotherby who was there in 1615. It was he who gave such an accurate description of the island in Purchas and he who named it Sir Thomas Smith's Island.[5] Later in Purchas, before 1625 he refers to the island as Tutches. At the time of writing this it appears that he must have known the whole history of the island and it is important that he chose the name Tutches from among many others, even excluding the name which he himself had given it.

Hull whalers, possibly Thomas Marmaduke, are said to have discovered it in 1611 or 1612 and to have called it Trinity Island.[6] King James I granted a monopoly to a Hull Company in 1618 to whale at what was known in England as Trinity Island.

Jean Vrolicq, the Biscayan, said he visited the island in 1612 and named it Isle de Richelieu.[7] As a matter of fact Richelieu in 1630 in the name of the King of France gave a license to a French company to whale off the Isle de Richelieu.

Other old names were Young's Foreland[8] and Pico.[9]

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[2] F. C. Wieder, The Dutch Discovery and Mapping of Spitsbergen 1596–1829. The Hague 1919, plate 5–6 shows a copy of this map.

[3] Original map in the collection of Royal Library, Copenhagen.

[4] A. King, Geographical Journal, Vol. XCIV, 1939, p. 116.

[5] Wordie, op. cit., p. 182.

[6] Arctic Pilot, Volume 2, British Admiralty Hydrographic Dept., 1949, p. 6.

[7] A. King, Geographical Journal, Vol. XCIV, 1939, p. 116.

[8] Wordie, op. cit., p. 183.

[9] Wordie, op. cit., p. 183.

American Bird Names. Two Studies

W. L. McATEE

THE SUPERNATURAL IN AMERICAN BIRD NAMES

By far the largest element in American bird names, suggesting the supernatural, has been contributed by those given to certain divers because of their uncanny disappearing, or remaining beneath, the water. Richardson (in Swainson and Richardson, 1831) mentioned the names spirit duck and conjuring duck as being applied in the Northwest Territories to the golden-eye and the bufflehead ducks because of their instantaneous disappearance "at the flash of a gun or the twang of a bow." That was when hunters, armed with bows and arrows or flintlock guns, mostly missed these birds as if they were crafty conjurors or unsubstantial spirits. Now advantage is on the other side and no bird can evade the leaden death. Both of the names cited by this famous Arctic explorer may have been translations of Indian terms, and I have no example of folk use of "conjuring duck." There are several records, however, for "spirit", and allied, appellations. Spirit duck has been applied to the: horned grebe (Canada, Mass.), pied-billed grebe (Oologist 1893), bufflehead (throughout its northern range), and ruddy duck (Iowa). The bufflehead is known also as spirit dipper in Maryland. Two other prodigious divers have likewise won spirit names: the anhinga or snakebird (spirit bird, Miss.), and the common loon (spirit goose, Ill.). Varying the nomenclature, but not the idea, is the name, ghost duck, for the bufflehead in Maine and for the pied-billed grebe in South Carolina.

There may be a touch of the arrow-and-bullet-dodging idea in the name waterwitch so widely applied to grebes, but the main reason seems to be their apparently magic ability, effortlessly to sink out of sight beneath the water — or to submerge without leaving a trace. The pied-billed grebe, rather generally called waterwitch, was recorded by Thomas Pennant as having this name in New York in 1785. It is termed witch-diver also in South Carolina.

The horned grebe is known as water-witch in various localities (Que., Mass., N. Y., D. C., N. C., Tex.) and as witch, simply, in Maryland. In that State the appellations, pigwick and pigwitch, too, are given this bird. "Wick" is an old form of witch but what the syllable, "pig", signifies is a question. The gray-cheeked grebe is a water-witch in Nova Scotia and Massachusetts. In New Jersey, with allusion to its being larger than the other water-witches, it is dubbed gander-witch. Some Marylanders extend usage of the name water-witch to the mergansers or fish-ducks, and in British Columbia the term refers locally to the water ouzel, a somewhat thrush-like, somewhat wren-like, song-bird that dives, swims, and even walks under water.

Some of the diving birds submerge so long and reappear in so unexpected and distant a quarter that salty observers may remark that they have been to hell. So hell-diver is the vernacular, and it is applied to all of the grebes, practically throughout their ranges. The pied-billed grebe has the more facetious sobriquet of hell-borer in Illinois and the horned grebe the doubly supernatural one of witch hell-diver in Maryland.

Other hell-divers include the common loon (rather generally), bufflehead (N. B., N. S., Me., Mass., Md., Ohio, Miss., Iowa), harlequin duck (N. S.), hooded merganser (Wis.), red-breasted merganser (N.W.T.), common guillemot (Me.), coot (rather generally), and water ouzel (Yukon).

The pied-billed grebe is termed hell-hen, locally in South Carolina, and the old squaw, hell's chicken, in Nova Scotia. Apparently it has been tempting to the folk to substitute "devil" for "hell" in the names of such birds; thus we have as devil-divers, the: common loon and gray-cheeked grebe (Me.), horned grebe (Me., Mass., Tex.), pied-billed grebe (N. B., Me., N. J., Ohio, Ky.), common guillemot and bufflehead (Me.). From the distribution of this nomenclature, it would appear that the lower regions are more than ordinarily accessible from the State of Maine. Coming right to the point as to satanic qualities of the birds, the horned grebe is called diving devil in Illinois and the gray-cheeked grebe, red-eyed devil in Washington.

Leaving the birds of mysterious watery wanderings, we turn to other witch-, hell-, and devil-birds, so named for quite different reasons — part of which, indeed, are unknown. Sailors of the north-

eastern coast call a number of sea birds eggdowns, and hagdons, British provincial names, the meaning of which has been lost. When these terms are transformed to hag, or its diminutives haglet, or haglin, however, it is likely that the significance of "witch" is involved. Hag, alone, is applied to the: sooty shearwater (Nfd., Me., N. Y.), greater shearwater (Nfd., Labr., Northeastern Banks, Me., Mass.), and fulmar (Me.). The sooty shearwater is further known as black haglet (Mass.) and the greater shearwater as: gray haglet, haglet, and white haglet (Mass.), and haglin (N. B., Me.). Plainly called witches in the western Atlantic are the storm petrels, regarded as foreboders of tempests, and whose appearance, therefore, was by no means welcome to the crews of sailing ships.

"Witch" terms have been applied to three land birds for reasons the author is not able to explain. They include: witch bird for the phoebe (N. C.); witch's bird for the catbird (N. Y.); and tarkle (i.e. turtle) witch, a negro name for the hermit thrush in North Carolina.

The American bittern, a much-named species, utters calls, which in numerous cognomens, are likened to the sounds made by an old-fashioned wooden pump with its leathern sucker. To some these utterances have seemed of lower-world relationships, and, accordingly, they have denominated the bittern as hell-pumper (Iowa) and Devil's pump (Man.).

Four "Devil" folk-names require a like number of explanations. The pileated woodpecker is known as Devil's woodpecker in Nova Scotia, apparently because of its general black color and flaming crest. Very generally associated with Hell and the Devil in southeastern folk-lore is the blue jay (universally it is alleged to carry sticks or other fuel for the Devil every Friday); and it is called bird o' Satan by some Virginia negroes. In Pennsylvania, the jay has been stigmatized as blue devil by hunters because of its cries warning game of their approach. There are distinctly two sides to this matter, however, and the game, if it could, no doubt would highly reward the jay for this life-saving service. The white-breasted nuthatch gets the name of devil-down-head (Mass., N. Y.) for the devil-may-care notions it has about dizziness or the like disorders, for it seems utterly indifferent as to whether its head is up or down as it clambers about in the trees. There should be some satisfaction in progressing from Hell- and Devil- to God-names, but there is not,

for in my opinion the American examples of the last class are all spurious. They pertain chiefly to the pileated woodpecker and appear to be mere corruptions of one of its most widespread folk-names, log-cock. Slight mishearing could transform this into log-god and that into lord-god. These and numerous other forms have been reported in folk speech, but any supernatural significance they may have is derivative and is based on misconceptions. For an account of these appellations, see McAtee, 1951 (pp. 93–94) and for additional "god-names", the same author 1945 (pp. 45–47).

Certain other cognomens having sacred implications trace to customs of the Indians. They have had little real currency among whites and due to the course of events are now practically obsolete. Both the golden and the bald eagles have been named Calumet eagle in books because their tail-feathers were used to decorate the calumets or pipes employed as symbols of peace or war, and were held of sacred signification by the Indians. Use of such feathers to embellish other ceremonial regalia of the redmen resulted in the following names that have been recorded form folk language: war eagle (the golden, S. Dak., Wyo.; and the bald, Minn.); and war bird and medicine bird (the road-runner, Colo.).

Both a sacred and a profane origin have been attributed to the sailors' name Mother Carey's chickens for the storm-petrels, generally regarded by sea farers as harbingers of storms. One theory is that this term is derived from *Mater cara* (dear mother), a name of the Blessed Virgin, but no litany contains such a title for the Virgin. At the other extreme, an author who writes the petrel name as Mother Carew's chickens, explains: "Mother Carew was an old witch ... good at raising the wind ... The sailors will not shoot them on any account; they pay them great respect, that their mother's wrath may not be roused." (McTaggart, 1829). The name has been applied on the northeastern coast (principally by sailors) to the white-rumped, storm, and Wilson's petrels, and has been modified to such forms as Carey chick or chicken, Carey, and pall Carey (the last for the white-rumped petrel in Newfoundland, on account of its darker color.

The petrels are storm presagers, and to judge fro folk names, various other birds are locally deemed as creatures of ill omen. A plain, bad-luck bird, is the common loon among the Sea Islands of Georgia; and a haunt bird in various parts of the South according

to L. O. Pindar (ms.) is the nighthawk. Death bird is a local Floridian term for the smooth-billed ani, a species of black color and the object of other unfavorable associations; but much less explicably it is applied in Manitoba to the brown thrasher, a species generally very well regarded. Owls have nearly everywhere and always been considered as onimous fowl; in American names, this idea is reflected by, death owl, for the common screech or shivering owl (S. C., Ga., Ala., Miss.). Doubtless some evil portent is associated with a bird voice, that of the chuck-wills-widow at Okefinokee Swamp, Ga., which impels auditors when hearing it to remark 'the "Fontis Cat" is about'. (Harper, 1938.)

The cuckoos are called rain birds and the like, on account of their increased croaking before storms. That period, often of extra heat and heavy air, has in some quarters been credited with causing milk to sour, but in Maine the blame has been put on the yellow-billed cuckoo, or rain harbinger, itself, in the name, milk-sourer.

This chapter will be ended, as it was begun, with remarks on "spirit" birds, so-called, however, for different reasons. The idea of elusiveness enters into some of these terms also as it did in those for the spirit ducks. The yellow rail, a small straw-colored bird slipping through grasses and seasonally of matching coloration, is locally known as spirit rail in Illinois. The name-provoking yellow-billed cuckoo has the appellations, spirit bird and phantom bird, in Kentucky, doubtless because it is much heard but seldom seen. For its white color, the American egret is known as angel bird in Florida and ghost bird in Illinois, and for the same reason the snowy owl has been dubbed both ghost owl and ghost bird (Matthews, 1945). Fairy bird has been reported as a folk-name of the tufted titmouse in North Carolina, and will-o'-the-wisp, of the nighthawk in Connecticut and Colorado.

In New England, the designation, shad-spirit, has been fastened on three species of birds for closely allied reasons, connected with the annual advent of shad, the well-known food-fish, into the fresh-water streams of the region. One is the flicker, "whose note," it is said, "is . . . held to indicate the first day when the fish ascend the river." (Essex County, Mass. T. W. Higginson, 1900). The same name was given to the jacksnipe, from its cry when startled by shad fishermen hauling their seines at night (New England coast,

G. B. Grinnell, Century Mag., Oct. 1883). And for the nighthawk, De Kay (1844) wrote "Along the Connecticut River the [booming] sound made by the ... [bird's] wings was said to be that of the Shad Spirit — announcing to the scholes of shad their impending fate."

A number of names of the gray or Canada jay have been given because these birds are fancied to be the embodied spirits of dead lumbermen. Such are cruiser's spirit (Wash.), lumberjack (Mich., Wis., Minn., Alta.), and old logger and woodman's ghost (N. Y.).

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NAMES OF THE AMERICAN BITTERN

From a long and general acquaintance with the names of North American birds, I have thought that were I to allow myself the pleasure of writing in non-technical fashion about the names of a single species, I would choose the bittern. Other forms as the Canada goose and flicker have a greater total of names; and the ruddy duck and hooded merganser have received some very piquant sobriquets, but for both varied and interesting cognomens, give me the bittern.

How much the word, bittern, itself, is used among the people, is difficult to decide, but at a venture I would say not a great deal. For one reason, there are too many localisms available for any need of a standard term to be felt. Bittern is a term of ancient lineage and many spellings, both in English and French, yet that variety is not so great but it is increased by American inventions. Thus bittern (N. C.), zettern (Nebr.), and sibitron (N. J.), appear in our collection. Conceivably the last is a condensation of the phrase, "it's a bittern."

Montagu in his Ornithological Dictionary (1813) called our species, freckled heron, and while he noted that some of the feathers are "speckled", it remained for Coues (Key to N. A. Birds, 1903) to back up his name with a pertinent description; he wrote: "Plumage of upper parts singularly freckled with brown of various shades, blackish, tawny, and whitish."

Of the heron family, the American bittern shares with its cousins a number of names, strict application of which has not been achieved. The well-known heron nickname, fly-up-the-creek, is rather widely assigned to the bittern (Wis., Ill., Mo., Ark., Man., Calif.) and the southeastern term, scoggin, and variants, also has due usage. The meaning of this name is debated. The surname of John Scoggin, court fool to Edward VI of England (1537–1553) is used allusively to mean jester or buffoon. Thus, as an importation and survival, it might be used to refer to the ungainly herons, to which numerous ridiculous epithets have been given. On the other hand, a correspondent suggests that "scoggin" is the name of a method of fishing, which would find natural application to herons. In that sense, the word has not reached the dictionaries so the debate can not now be settled. Scoggin, simply, has been heard as a bittern name in South Carolina; and as scroggin (Del.), scroggins

(Fla.), and squagin and ma'sh scawgin (N. C.); surely these are not all modes of fishing.

Birds of similar general appearance and habits are not always clearly separated by the public. Thus names usually applied to the black-crowned night-heron occasionally are offered as for the bittern, examples being: couac (French, Que., La.), quack (Ill.), quawk (Pa., N. J.), quock (Va.), squak (Wis., Utah), squawk (N. C., Fla., Wis., Ill.), squok (N. C.), and wop (Va.). A very characteristic name of the green heron, scow, also has been reported for the bittern in North Carolina. Of crane, a general misnomer for herons, the bittern has drawn a slight share. That simple term has been reported from Maine, Pennsylvania, and Arkansas, in addition to swamp crane and, worse, swamp duck, from Nova Scotia.

It is a folk-conceit to name wild birds, especially sizable species, as if they were poultry. Exemplifying this tendency by bittern appellations, we find that this bird is dubbed, Indian hen, from eastern Canada and Minnesota south to Georgia and Texas. Within this range, there prevails also the term Indian pullet (N. Y., S. C., Ga., Fla,. La.). Other hen-appellations include: bog hen (Me., Mass.), grass hen (S. C.), hethen (i.e., heath-hen, N. Y.), marsh hen (from Labrador and Saskatchewan to the northern tier of states, with single records form S. C., Ga., and Ala.), meadow hen (N. B., Me., Mass., N. Y.), mud hen (N. B., Que., N. Y., N. J., Pa., Ont., Mich., Man.), night hen (Mass.), sage (i.g., sedge) hen (D. C., N. C.), big water hen (Mo.), and weed hen (Ont.). The bird is known also as pond guinea in Mississippi.

Various herons "freeze" or stand still in a nearly erect position, but the bitterns seem to have this habit most strongly developed. It has often been described for the common bittern, for instance by Thoreau, from whose Journal we quote: "The bird stood in shallow water . . . [quite] still, with its long bill pointed upwards in the same direction with its body and neck, so as perfectly to resemble a stake aslant." This habit has not escaped folk attention and it is the basis for a number of interesting names. Among them are, pump-handle (N. J.), stake bird (S. C.), statue bird (Wis.), and sun-dial bird (Fla.). This last appellation suggests resemblance of the obliquely rigid bittern to the pin, style, or gnomon of a sun-dial. Other cognomens resulting from the bill-pointing attitude of the bittern are: sky-gazer and star-gazer (Ga.), sun-gazer (Ala.,

La., Tex.), and look-up (N. Y.). All of these, together with the Louisiana French *garde-soleil*, *gaze-soleil* (look at the sun), and *vise en-l'air* (look in the air), are misconceptions, however, for while the bird's bill may be directed upward, its eyes are looking forward. That our greatest painter of birds — Louis Agassiz Fuertes — understood this is clear from his figure of the American bittern on Plate XXI of E. H. Forbush's, "Birds of Massachusetts and other New England States" (Vol. 2, Boston, 1925).

From a miscellany of bittern names, that of fool fowl (Ga.) may allude to the "freezing" habit, allowing the near approach of man. Bog-trotter (N. J., Ont., Mich., Minn.) is an obviously descriptive title for this bird of the fens, though it walks, and very slowly also, rather than trots. Fish-bird (Ohio) and snake-eater (La.) doubtless refer to food habits, but not necessarily major ones. Flying-fox (Del.) alludes to the prevalence of tawny-brown in its coloration, and shad bird and shad buck (Md.) relate to its being seen at the season of the shad fishery. Butterbird (Ga.) would seem to be connected with a sonic name, buttermunk, embodying the same prefix, which, however, has been reported from the State indicated. Pine-knot (N. S.) may refer to the toughness of flesh, and swamp-soggle (Wis.) may belong to the sonic class later discussed.

Three apparent personifications present themselves, but two of them may be more or less echoic. These are Jack Grindle (Ga.) and Johnnie Gongle (N. C.). The third, Nelly Bly (Ohio), is said to have been suggested by the globe-girdling of the author (Elizabeth Cochrane Seaman, 1867—1922) who used that pen-name. There was a ditty supposed to describe how the bittern walks and how Nelly got around the world in ninety days:

> "When she walks she lifts her foot
> And then she puts it down."

This is very good for the bittern, which, when stalking prey, raises each foot slowly and sets it down just as deliberately, but is not a gait well adapted to going places in a hurry as Nelly did in her time.

Peculiar as the names Indian hen, sun-dial bird, flying fox, and Nelly Bly may seem, none of them touches the real wealth of bittern names, which are those relating to its remarkable "love-song."

This has been likened to bellowing, booming, pounding, and pumping, and the bird has been supposed to invoke such outside effects as might be derived from placing its beak in a reed, or in water or mud. Thus of the European bittern, counterpart of our bird, Geoffrey Chaucer wrote (Canterbury Tales, The Wife of Bath, 1386) "As a Bitore bombleth in the Myre." And James Thomson (The Seasons. Spring, 1728) added,

> "The Bittern knows his time with bill ingulpht,
> To shake the surrounding marsh."

The water theory is innate in our American name, water-belcher, and the reed hypothesis was set forth by Thomas Browne in 1646 (Pseudodoxia Epidemica) as follows: "That a Bittor maketh that mugient noyse, or as we term it Bumping by putting its bill into a reed." Modern belief is that the bittern gulps air and forcing it out under pressure makes the sounds that have so impressed its namers.

The bellowing school has denominated the bird as a bull-goose (Ill.), bog-bull (Eastern Canada, New England, Mich., Ind., Ill.; a name also reported to be in British provincial use), bull-of-the-bog (Iowal. Walter Scott in "Guy Mannering 1815 also cites this term for the European bittern), and bull-of-the-woods (Ky.). Corroborative is the corrupt Pennsylvania-German, "Wassa-bull."

Names suggested by resemblance of the bittern "music" to resonant pounding include: barrel-maker (Mich.), corker (Nfd., i.g., caulker, or one driving oakum into the seams of a boat), pile-driver (Ont., Fla.), post-driver (Mass., Ill.), stake-driver (general), stump-driver (Vt., Mich.), and stump-knocker (N. Y.).

Likening the bittern's vocalization to the sounds made by the operation of an old-fashioned suction-pump has also been a fruitful source of folk-names. Among these allusions are: bog-pump (Minn., Sask.), bog-pumper (Minn.), marsh pump (Calif.), marsh pumper (Wis.), mud pump (Sask.), mud-pumper (Ont., Wis., Prairie Provinces), prairie pump (Mont.), pump-bird (B. C.), pumper (Mass., Minn., N. Dak., Alta.), pump-sucker (Ind., Ill., Wis.), slough-pump (N. Dak., Man., Sask.), slough-pumper (Wis., Ill., Minn., N. Dak.), swamp-pump (Mich., Calif.), swamp pumper (Wis.), and water-pumper (N. Dak.).

More fancifully, such terms veer to: pump-thunder (Vt., Mass., N. C., Ill., Man.), thunder pump and thunder pumper (general), Devil's pump (Man.), hell-pumper (Iowa), and bog-pumping hell-driver (Alta.), whatever that may mean.

A miscellaneous lot of names, each with a different reason for being, includes belcher-squelcher (Mass.), boomer (Mass., Pa., Ill., Colo., Calif.), grunter (N. J.), and thunder bird (Fla.). For the second of these, European analogy is indicated by a couplet from Walter Scott (The Lady of the Lake, 1810).

> "And the bittern sound his drum,
> Booming from the sedgy shallow."

So many sonic names to this point, and we have not yet dealt with those intended to represent the actual sounds made by the bittern. These terms exist in such variety as to indicate that the bird does not always call the same or that distance, intervening objects, or other factors, make the sound seem different under diverse conditions. Years ago on a quiet evening in May, after an all-day bird-trip, E. A. Preble, Alexander Wetmore, and the writer sat on a log at the edge of an extensive marsh at Dyke, Virginia, and listened to the repeated calling of a bittern, — at length with the purpose of deciding what word-sounds would best represent it. We decided on "plunk-a-lunk", which with numerous others is incorporated in the following list of onomats that have been applied to the bittern as names. (Others merely descriptive and not known to be used as cognomens could be cited.) The true sound names range almost from "a" to "z": Bill-gudgeon (Ont.), boom-pike (N. H.), bulleke-boo (N. J.), bull-squash (Va.), bum-cluck (Pa.), bunkum (N. B.), bunkalett (Pa.), butter-box (N. J.), butter-bump (Mass., Man.; a British provincial name traced to the year 1671 by the Oxford English Dictionary), butter-munk (Me.), doodle-doodle (N. J.), dunkadoo (N. Y., Pa., N. J.; satirized as "cockatoo"), full-pot (S. C.), hit-log (N. Y.), humpty-doo, hunch-apunchy, hunchy-puss (N. J.), junk-tuttle (Minn.), malugus (Fla.), comptah (Ont.), conk-onk (Mich.), plum-gudgeon (Ont.), plum-pudd'n (Mass., N. Y., Ont., Mich., Ill.), plunk-a-lunk (Pa., Va.), plunkett (Mass.), plunk-puddle (Mich.), pum-chick (Pa.), pumper-gor (Mass.), punkatunk (N. S.), punk-pudding (N. Y.), pussy-

puse (N. J.), skenk-doo (Calif.), slug-toot (Mass.), tom-te-bunk (Md.), and wollerkertoot (Mass.).

It is of interest to compare the Spanish *torcomon* (Mexico) and a few Indian names as syllabilized by white auditors: hounch-a-poro (Winnebago), mokoho (Cree), mo-pun-gwi (Goshute), and moosh-kah-oos (Chippewa). The same uncouthness, the same rhythm are evident as in the Caucasian folk-names, and the bird intended would be recognized by anyone familiar with the bittern's voice.

A much — and unconventionally — named bird, but interestingly so, withal.

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The Names of Land Grants in Provincial California

J. N. BOWMAN

In 1769 Spain began its last expasion in the western hemisphere in the area north of Mexico and west of the Mississippi. Along both sides of the Amazon and north of the Florida territory west to the Father of Waters there remained only a series of boundary disputes, but on the Pacific coast north of Mexico she still had some freedom of movement. After 1763 the rumors of the southern expansion of Russia from Alaska were disturbing and this joined with the long recognized need of coastal ports for serving the Philippine galleons sailing east with the north trade winds resulted in the decision to establish ports at San Diego and Monterey and cooperate in the colonization and mission activity of the Franciscan fathers.

Six years later another factor, long in use in Mexico, was introduced — the granting of lands to retired or invalided soldiers and others, a movement extending from 1775 to 1846. In these 72 years land grants were made along the coast from San Diego to Ukiah, in the San Joaquin Valley, and in the Sacramento Valley as far north as Redding. During this period 717 pieces of land had been granted in addition to the usufruct rights of land for the 21 missions which were not grants; and of these 717 pieces 570, or 79%, were ranchos (a California league was 4438.68 acres); the rest were "lands," garden lots, house lots, timber cutting rights, and a few of unknown acreage. For additional identification as to location of the land solicited and in accordance with the land surveying methods of those days, these lands were given names in the same manner as names were given to pueblos, presidios, and posts. Most of the names were carried by the ranchos and a few by the "lands," house and garden lots; the others were designated only as lots, "lands," an area of so many varas or leagues, or for the purpose for which the grant was to be used, or an augmentation. About one third of

the land grants had alternate or secondary names and many of the 103 duplicate granted areas also had names. This makes a total of 875 names some of which were used for different pieces of land.

The simple and copulate names were such as Acalanes, San Antonio, Arroyo del Rodeo, Calera y las Positas, Valle de San Jose y Agua Caliente, Yerba Buena ó Socayre, and Cañada de Guadalupe, Visitacion y Rodeo Viejo. Some names were designations only such as Five leagues, One thousand varas, Cañada, Cienega, Parage, and these descriptions were accepted by the Americans as proper names. Auxiliary names were such as Habra or Cañada de Habra, conejo or Nuestra Señora de Altagracia, carne humana or Hailic noma or Caligolman or Calojomanoc.

As to the linguistic origin of the names the greater part of them were Spanish as would be expected — 658; while the Indians provided 173; the Americans (Johnson), Germans (Breisgau), and Irish (Macnamara) provided 9; and the Spanish combined with the American (Rio de los Americanos), Russian (Rio Ojatska), and Latin (Nueva Helvetia) provided 6; 9 were of unknown origin; and 156 places had no names.

The secondary or substitute names were constructed in a similar manner.

The 21 missions, as mentioned before, were not land grants but on their founding they received specific names; 12 were named after male saints, four after female saints (Santa Barbara, Santa Clara, Santa Ines, and Solodad), three were named after angels (San Gabriel, San Miguel, and San Rafael), and two received names of religious import (Santa Cruz and Purisima concepcion). Three of these mission names in time were superseded by other names: San Carlos became Carmel, San Francisco became Dolores, and San Francisco Solano changed to Sonoma.

The grantees followed the example of the missions but were much freeer in their selection of names but those of a religious nature dominated, either named after saints or after places of their nativity which bore these names; 69 saints names were used 200 times and 48 names were of a religious nature and were used more than this number of times. San Gabriel was the most favored (18 times), San Jose with 16, Santa Clara with 14, San Luis Obispo with 11, Santa Rosa and San Juan Capistrano with seven each, San Pedro and San Jusn Bautista with six each, San Vicente, Santa Barbara

and San Francisquito with five each. Grants with the names of religious import were such as ascuncion, purisima, refugio, merced, providencia, virgines, cabeza de Santa Rosa.

Geographic features were the next most popular source of names, used 218 times. Some were purely descriptive such as Cañada del rincon en el rio San Lorenzo de Santa Cruz; cañada was used 47 times alone or in connection with other names, arroyo 12 times in a similar manner, rio 16, potrero 13, rincon 20, bolsa 10, punta 8, salinas, llano and its derivatives, and paso 4 times each, isla was used 15, water in some form 43, laguna 14, cienega and agua caliente 5 times each.

Names of trees, flowers and plants were used 48 times alone or in combination with other names, such as aliso, alimos, cipres, encino, laurel, nogales, robles, pinos, camote, flores, and others.

Places, villages or towns were used 91 times as names (San Jose, rancheria), and the names of the grantees as designations of their lands were used 38 times (Solis, Fernandez, Feliz, Blucher). Work places as names 18, were such as pescadero, embarcadero, carbonera, cazadero. Animals provided names 17 times such as puerca, conejo, liebre, coyote, gatos, tejon. Names of peoples, alone or in conjunction with other names, were used 15 times, such as Franceses, and names of Indian tribes or people. Names of cultivated or agricultural areas were used seven times — milpitas, huerta, viña. Birds and fowels gave six names — pajaro, gavilan, alcatraz, gallinos. Items of construction, used 16 times, were such as puente, goleta, bodega, molino, corral. Parts of or pertaining to the human body were used four times — calaveras, cabeza, cojo. Insects became names for lands five times — pulgas, piojo, mariposa, not to mention. escorpion. Fruits gave names three times such as uvas, camulos, cuca (probably). Apparently an Indian name for fish was used once — sespe. Color became parts of names six times — verde, colorado, prieto, tulucay. Food also provided names on three occasions — pinole, and canejo. In 50 instances words with a miscellaneous meaning were used such as sur, buena vista, pala, escarpines, temescal, salsipuedes, hambre, panoche, carna humana, otay. Twentyseven names used some 70 times are of unknown meaning. These names total 690.

The auxiliary names for these grants were quite similar to the above. Saints names were used 85 times, words with a religious

import gave 16 names, and geography gave 118 names, 24 bore the names of the individual grantees, 22 referred to rivers, waters or springs, 21 referred to trees, plants of flowers, 15 indicated animals or birds, 17 were the names of peoples, 18 bore the names of towns, missions and other places, 9 indicated work places, 39 of miscellaneous meaning, and 32 are of unknown meaning. There were 430 of such names.

There were 103 duplicate grants, i.e. regrants or recognition of new grantees for lands already granted; they had 57 Spanish names and seven were of Indian origin, and 39 were without names. A total of 64 names.

These 875 individual names (total less duplicated names) used singly or in combination with other names were used over 1000 times for the different pieces of land; the frequency of use of the names of the missions is due to the adjacent pieces of land taking the name of the nearby mission.

As to the survival of these names to the present, the missions, intact or restored, all have retained their original or popular names. The land grants, however, have all except 21 been divided and subdivided and so have lost their corporate names, and excepting these 21 mentioned the original names are now only of historical or traditional interest.

During the Spanish period up to 1810, 17 land grants were made but in the naming of the lands the expected influence of the mission naming was absent; four were without names, two had saints names (San Rafael, and Los Angeles pueblo), one was probably named after a person, pueblo San Jose probably was named after a place and Villa de Branciforte was named after a Spanish official, three of these names were duplicated, and four grants had no names.

During the Revolutionary period, 1811 to April 1822, six grants were made with half of them duplicates. Only one received a saints name taken from a hill which bore the name of El Cerrito de San Antonio.

During the Transition period from April, 1822, to the introduction of the land law of 1824 early in 1833, there were 18 grants four of which were duplicates. Again the religious influence in the selection of names is absent. Only one received a saints name (San Pedro).

During the land-granting period (1833 to 1846) the definite trend was from the religious names to non-religious and "no names" was well marked at the rate of $3^1/_2$ to one.

Such was the use of names in provincial California in the naming of the pieces of lands granted; names to designate the presidios, missions, and pueblos, and to designate the location of the granted lands; they were dominatingly of Spanish origin followed closely by the Indians. In the early days names of a religious origin dominated but in time names of individuals or an absence of names took the lead. With the breaking up of the ranhos into subdivisions the rancho names disappeared except in a historical and traditional sense.

The above is concerned only with the land grant names and so does not include the place names of streams, valleys, hills, mountains and other geographic features.

Note

These names were found in the land grant papers in the National Archives, in the transcripts in the State Archives in Sacramento, and in the private land grant cases in the Clerk's office of the U.S. District Court in San Francisco; a few were also found in the Bancroft abstracts of the Spanish Archives now in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley.

Berkeley, California

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ADDENDA TO "NOTES ON HUMBOLDT COUNTY CALIFORNIA, PLACE NAMES OF INDIAN ORIGIN"

1. *Town of Loleta.* In my article of the above title, which appeared in this journal Volume VI, pp. 55–56, I failed to specify adequately the transition from the Wiyot model /wiwítak/ to the current name. The simplest explanation for the change from w- to l-sounds is no doubt the well-known supposition among non-Indian Americans that Indian languages are simply forms of glorified baby talk. Such an attitude was nearly universal in the last century. Since w is a standard substitute among English-speaking children for either l or r of the adult language, Mrs. Herrick might have chosen either of these in her form, but evidently preferred the former, thus arriving, with the dropping of -k and vowel changes dealt with in the article, at the Spanish-sounding *Loleta.* The fact that the second vowel sound is spelled with e and not i, incidentally, is another external piece of evidence that the town name is not derived from the Spanish name.

3. *Weott.* The permanent population of the town by this name has greatly declined since flood damages of the past few years, and is currently about 150, rather than 350 as given in the original article.

University of California, Berkeley

Karl V. Teeter

Review

Erwin Gudde's most recent contribution consists of two chapters in the *California Blue Book, 1958* (California State Printing Office, Sacramento, Calif.), one on "The Name of Our State", the other on "The Names of California Counties". The California Blue Book, an official, biennial publication, has from time to time printed the "Vallejo Report" of 1850, giving the derivation of the names of the original counties. This report was later supplemented by Prentiss Maslin to include the counties created after the middle of the last century. Gudde now follows in this respectable tradition.

The chapters give, in a concise and readable form, what is known about the origin of the names. The information is based on Gudde's larger work on *California Place Names* with new material added in at least one case.

It is reasonable to expect that Gudde's contribution will last at least as long as Vallejo's.

Fritz L. Kramer

University of Nevada

How Come It's Called That? Place Names in the Big Bend Country. By Virginia Madison and Hallie Stillwell. University of New Mexico Press, 1958. Pp. 129. 8 illustrations, map. $ 4.25.

Two writers with extensive experience in West Texas have collaborated on this study of place names, primarily confining themselves to the three Texas counties of Jeff Davis, Brewster, and Presidio — the Big Bend Country. Their search for factual material has not only led them to interviews with local inhabitants and newspaper files, but to tracking down individuals who played active parts in giving the original names but who no longer live in easy reach. The authors were lucky enough to find some of the early surveyors still alive and to have surveyors' notes and memories as source material. We are fortunate in having the book done so early — in another generation much of this information would be unavailable.

The book contains entertaining glimpses of early life in West Texas and incidents of folkloric interest as they touch upon the

story behind the name. In general the book represents journalistic reporting in consonance with the title, that is, it is designed for reading rather than as a reference book. It is written in an easy, conversational style, although by the end of the book the initial words of the title are repeated enough to surfeit the unexacting — 16 times by a quick re-check, after the title page.

End papers contain a map that helps locate many of the names discussed in the text. A nine-page index locates nearly all the proper names used. Eight pages of illustrations show attractive views of some of the places described. Both content and appearance make it an attractive addition to the small shelf of name studies of the Southwest, and a good souvenir for visitors to the Big Bend country to take home. Our literature will be much richer when each section of the Southwest has a similar monument.

The curiosity of travelers about the origin of local place names is traditional, and the more outlandish the name, the more likely the arousal of interest. An inquiring traveler may very well pass Heath Canyon, the McKenney Hills, and Cooper's Store with a shrug. A hurrying traveler may even take a place name that clearly describes a local natural formation with no more interest than the time necessary to verify its accuracy: Hot Springs, Sugar Loaf Peak, Pummel Peak, and Rio Conchos seem reasonable enough and spread a satisfying rather than titilating aura. But who could travel (by mule train, Southern Pacific, automobile, or map) past Persimmon Gap, Robbers' Roost, Butcherknife Spring, or Lost Mine Peak without wanting to be the author of this book?

As we may well understand, the emphasis in this work lies on the Anglo-American penetration and settlement of the region, and on names as they exist today. The earlier names, Indian and Spanish, are lightly treated, perhaps because they deserve a separate study, one that will necessarily come from documentary material rather than interviews. A great deal of documentary material exists, beginning with José Antonio Pichardo's *Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas* (4 vols, University of Texas Press, 1932–1946) and moving on to local archives in Texas and Mexico, but that study lies more in the academic and historical field than in that of names.

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Names of Real-Estate Developments: I

ARTHUR MINTON

1. Setting

THE REAL-ESTATE DEVELOPMENTS whose names are in view here are mainly within the commuting periphery of New York City. In large part the inhabitants of these developments go to their work in the City five or six days a week. A smaller number of names apply to colonies located at greater distance from the City and designed mainly for summer residence. Both types of development comprise middle-class housing, although there is a wide range in the income groups to which they are available. About 1950 prices noted for development houses ranged from "less than $8,000" to "$69,000 and up." Many residents of the developments are having their first experience as occupants of single-family houses in suburban or rural settings. General observation suggests that the development names herein can be taken as typical for many parts of the United States.

The manner in which a development comes into being is commonly thus: An entrepreneur buys a tract of land — perhaps a farm or an estate; plats it into holdings and streets; introduces utilities if they are not already present — electricity, water, perhaps gas; gives the section a name; and sells off the plots, or, having built houses, sells them and the property.[1] The name he bestows on the place is one cal-

[1] Some view of the process as it has repeatedly taken place in recent times is given in a report, "L. I. Builders Open New Projects. Homes Replace Farms and Estates," *New York Times*, May 22, 1949, p. R/7–8.

Real-estate developments were set up prolifically in the period after the Second World War. According to Richard H. Parke in his article of Aug. 8, 1950, cited below, the population of Nassau County (Long Island), N. Y. increased 63.6 percent between 1940 and 1950.

See the following articles by Jerry King, New York *World-Telegram and The Sun*, May 31, June 1 and 2, respectively, 1950: "Suburbs Have Growing Pains" (p. 27/4–8); "City Overflows Northward" (p. 25/4–8); "N. J. Growth Outruns Prophets" (p. 29/4–8). The King articles dealt with Long Island, Westchester County, and New Jersey, respectively.

culated, we may assume, to win customers; hence the body of these names should furnish some social and linguistic insights — and will pose some questions.

Over the country the number and population of these developments must be very great; I have obtained no comprehensive data or estimate on this point. For some statistics bearing on developments in the vicinity of New York City, see the references in note 1. If the names of the developments be considered place names, they would seem to represent one of the major place-naming operations in America.

In *The American Language*[2] H. L. Mencken gives the names of suburbs a passing snort. "The names of American suburbs often engage the national wits," he writes in part, but he does not specify much further.

In *Names on the Land*[3] George R. Stewart has more to say on place names that, in form and origin, resemble the names studied here; some of his observations will be reported below. A passage on the names of "sub-divisions" set up since the Second World War is found in the Revised Edition (1958) of that work (pp. 429–30), but not in the original edition (1945). Professor Stewart cites the predominance of "duplex" names, the use of traditional name-elements, emphasis on topographical elevation (involving, some may think, suggestion of social elevation), the popularity of *wood* and the names of trees, exotic themes, and the high incidence of *manor*, *park*, and *estates*. Corresponding aspects are among those noted in the present study. In extenuation of my nevertheless including them here I would plead the unavailability of the Revised Edition

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Richard H. Parke was the author of the following articles in *NYT*, Aug. 7, 8, 9 10, and 11, respectively, 1950: "Growing Suburbia Beset by Problems" (p. 1/2 *et seq.*); "Nassau Epitomizes Suburban Growth" (p. 19/1–3); "Growth Problems Worry New Jersey" (p. 25/1–4); "Highway Problems Vex Westchester" (p. 15/1–3); "Industrial Areas in Fairfield [County, Conn.] Boom" (p. 17/2–3).

In "The Suburbs Are Strangling the City" (*New York Times Magazine*, June 8, 1950), William Laas states (p. 22): "Around [New York City] in a fifty-mile circle is a suburban territory comprising nearly 500 separate communities." Further (*ibid.*): "The ... Regional Plan Association's metropolitan 'region' consists of twenty-two counties covering about 7,500 aquare miles and more than 14,000,000 people, of whom at least 6,000,000 live outside the city proper, on 95 percent of the land."

[2] 4th ed. (New York, 1936), p. 546. [3] Rev. and enl. ed. (Boston, 1958).

of *Names on the Land* at the time this paper was first written. (In somewhat different form it was submitted to *Names* in May, 1957.)

The present paper will appear in *Names* in three installments. The present installment, Part I, will be followed by Parts II and III in subsequent issues.

2. *Materials and Methods*

The framework of this study is made up of four questions with reference to the corpus:

A. What are the morphological characteristics of development names of the past century?

B. What semantic themes are found in these names?

C. How do recently affixed names compare with earlier ones?

D. How do development names compare with the entirety of place names in the United States?

One source of names was the Section Index of the Land and Tax Map of Nassau County, Long Island, New York (hereinafter called the Nassau Index or NI). Nassau County adjoins the Borough of Queens, New York City. The Nassau Index was consulted at the county seat, Mineola. Names coming from NI are often identified in the following manner: *Arbor Estates* (NI 1948) — the numeral indicating the year in which the development map was filed.

A number of names were found in notices "to redeem from tax sale" property in Suffolk County, Long Island, on which taxes were in arrears, these notices being given newspaper publication. From these "tax sale notices" (as from the Nassau Index) it was possible to learn the date on which each development map was filed. Names from this source are identified as coming from TSN, often in the following manner: *Quogue Heights* (TSN 1914) — the numeral again signifying the year in which the filing took place. The Suffolk newspapers consulted were the *Huntington Times and Suffolk Bulletin* of the following dates in 1950: June 21, 28; July 5, 19, 26; Oct. 4, 11, 18, 25; Nov. 1, 8; and the *Suffolk County Watchman* (Huntington) of May 31, Oct. 4 and 25, and Nov. 8 and 15 — 1946.

Another main source was the real-estate section of the Sunday edition of the New York *Times*. From this newspaper (hereinafter usually identified as *NYT*) names were obtained for other places near New York City, as well as for Nassau County; for Suffolk

County, at the eastern end of Long Island; for Westchester County, north of the City; for New Jersey; and for Connecticut.

Finally a few names were collected by direct observation and from published sources other than those indicated above.[4]

Sections 3 and 4 comprise essays at obtaining some partial answers to questions *A* and *B*.

Under the heading "Morphology" — Section 3 — general form-features of the development names are described. Included in Section 3 is a count of some unbound and some bound forms in the names noted from the Nassau Index.

Subsequently under "Semantic Themes" — Section 4 — the chief semantic themes of the development names are identified. In Section 4 and subsequent Sections a substantial portion of the evidence comes from sources other than the Nassau Index.

In order to compare more recent names with those of approximately the preceding century (see Question *C* above) names of recent developments, drawn from various sources, were compared with those from the Nassau Index, which date 1854—1950. A chief source of lately-bestowed names was the real-estate section of the New York *Times* (most Sunday issues) from the latter part of 1948 to the latter part of 1951. This comparison is made in Section 5, "Recently Affixed Names Compared with Earlier Ones." Section 5 closes with a description of some themes in the advertising of developments. The aim is to present some of the attitudinal context in which names of recent origin should be viewed.

Development names have some, if not all, of the functional attributes of place names; some become place names in the fullest

[4] When a development name comes from a source other than NI or TSN, the location of the development will be indicated as follows:

Names of communities that are on Long Island but outside the limits of New York City are followed by *L. I.* unless such location is indicated otherwise. The name of the state (New York) is omitted with Long Island names and New York City names.

Location of a development in New York City may be indicated by the name of the borough alone (e. g., *Queens*). However, some sections of New York City have local names. Partly because the names of these communities are of interest in themselves, these names, when available, are given with the name of the borough; e. g., *Jackson Heights, Queens.*

When the abbreviation *N. Y.* follows the name of a place, the location indicated is neither in New York City nor in any part of Long Island outside the City. Westchester County, adjoining New York City on the north, has many real-estate developments.

sense. It is of moment, then, to consider how development names compare with the whole body of place names in the United States, in respect to composition and provenance (question *D* above). To make more than a beginning essay at the resolution of this problem is beyond the scope of this paper. It has not been thought fruitless, however, to bring together in Section 6, "Comparison with Established Place Names," some of the main strands in the development names and in established American place names as the latter are surveyed by George R. Stewart, *op. cit.* Also included in Section 6 are a comparison of the corpus with place names on Long Island; and observations on attitudes toward development names and toward place names that are in somewise comparable.

Section 7, "Some Semantic Problems," briefly considers general semantic problems suggested by the names. Much of the matter of Section 7 applies beyond development names — to public names in general.

Section 8 contains notes on "Questions of Method."

3. *Morphology*

By far the smaller number of the development names within the present province consist of one word each: *Broadridge* (NI 1942), *Brookview* (NI 1929), *Glenway* (NI 1922), *Narwood* (NI 1931), *Parkview* (NI 1927), *Shorewood* (NI 1925). Such names are here called independent units. From the names found in NI and TSN it is estimated that only about one name in forty or fifty is an independent unit. Names seen in the New York *Times* and elsewhere, 1948–1951, give the impression that the proportion of independent units is now tending to become smaller — perhaps one in sixty or more.

Examples of two-word names are *Eastover Farm* (NI 1940), *Randall Manor* (NI 1924), *Residence Park* (NI 1903), *Roosevelt Estates* (NI 1923), *Sunrise Terrace* (NI 1926). Some names consisting of three words are *Beach Club Colony* (NI 1936), *Milburn Heights Park* (NI 1931), *Park Hill Estates* (NI 1919), and *Shadow Lawn Estates* (NI 1948). A four-word specimen is *Sea Grove Manor Estates* (NI 1921). *Oakland Lake View Ranch Homes* (Bayside Hills, Queens) runs into five words.

Each of the names in the foregoing paragraph may be said to consist of a generic term — the ultimate element — preceded by a

specific term. A specific term consisting of more than two elements may itself be analysable on the generic-specific basis. Thus *Sea Grove Manor Estates* consists, in its entirety, of the generic *Estates* and the specific *Sea Grove Manor*. The latter consists of *Sea Grove* plus *Manor*; and *Sea Grove* itself can be viewed as comprising a generic and a specific.

Oakland Lake View Ranch Homes presents other problems of analysis. Clearly its ultimate (i. e., generic) element is duple: *Ranch Homes*. And the specific of this generic may be subject to two segmentations. Should it be understood as *Oakland* plus *Lake View* or as *Oakland Lake* plus *View*? Even if the lake near Oakland is named Oakland Lake, the name contains this structural ambiguity.

The specific term is often a place name, as in *Bellerose Gardens*, *Albertson Square*. An addition to a settled place is often named in this manner — by the attachment of the established name, as a specific term, to a new, generic term. The additive process need not be confined to one step. Thus to the incorporated village of New Hyde Park, New Hyde Park Manor was added in 1923. In 1926 the Manor itself received an addition; one result was the name *New Hyde Park Manor Crest*. Other examples of such accretion will come to attention below.

Anyone who is acquainted with development names is likely to be struck by the recurrence of certain unbound forms and certain bound forms. Among the former are *Estate(s)*, *Farm(s)*, *Garden(s)*, *Heights*, *Manor*, *Park*, *Terrace*, and *View(s)*. Bound forms repeatedly encountered include *bridge*, *brook*, *cliff*, *crest*, *croft*, *dale*, *field*, *gate*, *haven*, *hill*, *hurst*, *lake*, *lawn*, *ledge*, *mere*, *more*, *ridge*, *side*, *stone*, *view*, and *woods*.[5]

Some forms occur in both the bound and unbound condition; e. g., *cliff*, *dale*, *gate*, *haven*, *hill*, *lake*, *lawn*, *manor*, *ridge*, *side*, and *view*. From TSN come *Manorhurst* (1907), *Viewacre* (1913), and *Villaview Heights* (1910). Other examples can be found by reference to the "Count of Some Unbound and Some Bound Forms in the Nassau Index," which follows.

[5] In this paper bound forms are written without the customary preceding or following hyphen that would indicate occurrence of the forms in terminal or initial position, respectively. Use of the hyphen would distract attention from the fact that some bound forms may occur in either position.

Count of Some Unbound and Some Bound Forms in the Nassau Index

At the time it was examined in April, 1950, the Nassau Index contained the names of 4,911 maps. About a thousand of these names were taken as samples by the present inquirer.

In order to find out the frequency of some unbound and some bound forms in the names taken from the Nassau Index, a count was performed. The following principles were adopted for the count:

1. Unbound forms were counted whether they were generic or specific terms; bound forms whether they were parts of either kind of term or of independent units.

2. When a given specific term occurred with two or more generic terms in the same community, the specific term was counted only once. Thus in Rockville Centre there are *Fairview Farms*, *Fairview Manor*, and *Fairview Park*. The bound forms *fair* and *view* were credited only once each for these *Fairviews*. But a *Fairview* in Oceanside and one in Locust Valley added two strokes to the *fair* line and two to the *view* line.

This principle led to an understatement of the frequency with which some elements occur in total expression. The linguistic mass is enriched by daily mention of the three *Fairview* subdivisions in Rockville Centre, though as noted, *fair* and *view* were counted only once for that village.

3. Local place names were not knowingly taken into the count. The purpose of this principle was to confine the study to development names proper — insofar as they can be distinguished from full-fledged place names. Thus since Garden City is an incorporated village, *Garden* was not counted in combinations of *Garden City* with various generic terms, as in *Garden City Heights* and *Garden City Gables*. These names were scored only for *Heights* and *Gables*. Taken as the authority for established names was *Long Island*,[6] a publication of the Long Island Association.

Shown below are the frequencies in the listings from NI, of the selected unbound forms and bound forms. In parentheses after each form are (1) the earliest name noted as containing the form and (2) the year in which the name was filed. Where the writer's notes show two earliest exemplifications in the same year, both are given.

[6] 15th ed. (Garden City, N. Y., 1950).

Unbound

Acres 13 (*Marine Acres*, 1926)
Bay 12 (*Bay View Park*, 1891)
Beach 15 (*Baldwin Beach*, 1920)
Briar 4 (*Bonnie Briar Terrace*, 1925)
Brook 7 (*Cedar Brook Grove*, 1906)
Center 3 (*Glen Cove Heights Center*, 1924)
Centre 8 (*Valley Stream Centre*, 1907)
Cliff 2 (*Briar Cliff*, 1940)
Club 1 (*Biltmore Beach Club Colony*, 1933)
Colony 8 (*Seawanhaka Colony Farms*, 1913)
Cottage 1 (*Biltmore Cottage Colony*, 1931)
Court[7] 6 (*Lynbrook Court*, 1905)
Cove 2 (*Manhasset Cove*, 1939)
Creek 3 (*Seaford Creek*, 1924)
Crest 8 (*Maple Crest*, 1910)
Croft 1 (*Sunny Croft*, 1927)
Dale 1 (*Union Dale Estates*, 1939)
Downs 4 (*Hempstead Downs*, 1914)
Estate 12 (*Columbus Park Estate*, 1909)
Estates 86 (*Central Park Estates*, 1908)
Farm 8 (*Winthrop Farm*, 1879)
Farms 7 (*Model Farms*, 1910)
Gables 3 (*Garden City Gables*, 1926)
Garden 6 (*Floral Garden*, 1907)
Gardens 66 (*Nassau Gardens*, 1901)
Gate 1 (*Tudor Gate*, 1941)
Ground 1 (*Red Ground Park*, 1922)
Grove 11 (*Sea Cliff Grove*, 1877)
Harbor 7 (*Wantagh Harbor*, 1903)
Haven 4 (*Shore Haven*, 1900)
Heath 3 (*Westbury Heath*, 1927)
Heights 43 (*Nassau Heights*, 1902)
Highlands 2 (*Lynbrook Highlands*, 1923)
Hill 9 (*Cedar Hill Villa Sites*, 1890)
Hills 5 (*Westbury Hills*, 1907)
Hollow 2 (*Pine Hollow Park*, 1923)
Home 2 (*Home Acres*, 1936)
Homes 51 (*Bellmore Homes Foundation Inc.*, 1933)
Island 2 (*Barnum Island*, 1874)
Isle 1 (*Bellmore Isle*, 1937)
Knolls 4 (*Glen Knolls*, 1940)
Lake 2 (*Silver Lake Park*, 1923)
Land 1 (*Meadow Land*, 1940)
Lane 6 (*Surrey Lane Dev.*, 1935)
Lawn 3 (*Crescent Lawn*, 1904)
Lawns 15 (*Twin Lawns*, 1909)
Lea 1 (*Merrick Lea*, 1947)
Lots 4 (*Brookville Lots; Brookville Lots South*, 1854)
Manor 66 (*Freeport Manor; Merrick Manor*, 1904)
Meadows 1 (*Munsey Meadows*, 1927)
Mills 1 (*Plandome Mills*, 1946)
Oaks 8 (*Fair Oaks*, 1905)
Park 205 (*Burleigh Park*, 1871)
Pines 2 (*Sound Beach Park "In the Pines,"* 1921)
Place 3 (*Elmwood Place*, 1925)
Plaza 22 (*Plaza Park*, 1905)
Point 6 (*Ship Point Park*, 1895)
Pond 2 (*Dosoris Pond*, 1911)
Ridge 4 (*Rockville Ridge*, 1925)
Road 1 (*Eastwood Road*, 1911)

[7] The count for *Court* may well be less than representative. In his early work in the Nassau Index the inquirer did not note names involving *Court*, being under the impression that they designated short streets taken into the local political units, rather than developments in the full sense. He was later informed that these *Courts* should be included among development names.

Run 1 (*Stony Run*, 1949)
Shores 8 (*Waupage Shores*, 1913)
Side 1 (*Sunny Side Gardens*, 1934)
Sites 7 (*Valuable Building Sites of Wm. H. Cutler and Chas. Haas*, 1892)
Spring 1 (*Red Spring Park*, 1909)
Square 5 (*Edgerton Square*, 1904)
Stone 1 (*Stepping Stone*, 1927)
Stream 1 (*Cold Stream Gardens*, 1925)
Terrace 60 (*Bay View Terrace; Central Terrace*, 1905)
Trees 1 (*Island Trees*, 1947)
Uplands 1 (*Little Neck Uplands*, 1932)
Valley 3 (*Chicken Valley*, 1911)
View 22 (*Bay View Park*, 1891)
Views 2 (*Hempstead Views*, 1925)
Villa 34 (*Robbins, A. A. "Villa Plots,"* 1874)
Villas 7 (*Wheatley Villas*, 1915)
Village 4 (*Strathmore Village*, 1940)
Wood 2 (*Robin Wood*, 1906)
Woods 2 (*Canterbury Woods*, 1947)

Bound

bay 7 (*Bayview Avenue*, 1901)
briar 4 (*Briarwood*, 1926)
bridge 4 (*Newbridge Manor*, 1909)
brook 8 (*Pinebrook Manor*, 1927)
burgh 1 (*Woodsburgh*, 1885)
burn 1 (*Inerburn*, 1907)
bury 1 (*West Sunbury*, 1949)
crest 5 (*Floral Park Hillcrest; Meadowcrest*, 1923)
croft 3 (*Sunnycroft*, 1912)
dale 9 (*Brookdale*, 1874)
fair 12 (*Fairhaven Park*, 1905)
field 4 (*Brookfield*, 1906)
fold 1 (*Parkfold*, 1902)
gate 3 (*Norgate; Wyngate*, 1936)
haven 4 (*Fairhaven*, 1905)
hill 8 (*Hillside Park*, 1902)
holme 2 (*Westholme*, 1919)
home 3 (*Homestead Park*, 1914)
hurst 2 (*Oakhurst*, 1888)
lake 11 (*Lakeside Park*, 1907)
land 11 (*Woodland Park*, 1896)
lawn 11 (*Fairlawn*, 1906)
ledge 1 (*Woodledge*, 1940)
look 2 (*Glen Head Overlook; Overlook*, 1923)
mere 3 (*Meadowmere 'Revised,'* 1910)
more 4 (*Ritzmore Park*, 1924)
ridge 4 (*Northridge Park*, 1906)
shaw 1 (*Wenshaw Park*, 1946)
side 17 (*Brookside*, 1889)
stead 3 (*Homestead Park; Rockstead*, 1914)
stone 3 (*Elstone Park*, 1918)
town 2 (*Suntown Homes* 1949)
view 19 (*Fairview Park*, 1890)
ville 12 (*Beauville Realty Corp.*, 1926)
win 1 (*Rockwin*, 1941)
wold 2 (*Brookwold Park*, 1922)
wood 37 (*Thornwood*, 1905)

The attention is immediately caught by certain features of the foregoing results. A group of unbound forms emerge with substantial scores. Those with the highest frequencies are *Park* 205; *Estate(s)*[8]

[8] In this summary, counts of the singular and the plural forms are taken together for those unbound forms that exhibit variation in grammatical number. The separate counts are found in the list above.

98; *Garden(s)* 72; *Manor* 66; *Terrace* 60; *Home(s)* 53; *Heights* 43; *Villa(s)* 41; *View(s)* 24; *Plaza* 22; *Lawn(s)* 18; *Beach* and *Farm(s)* 15.

Among unbound forms that appear in both the singular and the plural, either may predominate. Thus *Estates* has a score of 86, *Estate* of 12; *Gardens* of 66, *Garden* of 6; *Lawns* of 15, *Lawn* of 3. On the other hand *Villas* falls below *Villa* 7–34, *Views* below *View* 2–22, and *Farms* below *Farm* 7–8. *Wood* and *Woods* come out even, 2–2. Contributing to the incidence of the singular is the normal practice in respect to plural forms that end in a sibilant: When such forms are used as attributives the sibilant may be dropped; in effect the singular form may be used. Such may be the process that gives, e. g., *Village Garden Homes* (1949) and *Shadow Lawn Estates* (1948). This change does not always occur; thus, *Lawrence Gardens Estates* (1938).

The common generic terms often appear as, or in, specific terms. Some examples from NI, besides those already given, are *Glen Cove Heights Center* (1924), *Manor Grove* (1905), *Manor Haven*[9] (1931), *Manor Haven Park* (1905), *New Garden Terrace* (1921), *Plaza Park* (1905), and *Shubert Plaza Homes* (1935).[10]

In the foregoing tabulation bound forms are generally of lower frequency than unbound forms. The bound form *wood* towers with a score of 37. Others in the highest-scoring group are *view* 19; *side* 17; *fair* and *ville* 12; *lake*, *land*, and *lawn* 11; *dale* 9; *brook* and *hill* 8; *bay* 7.

Further study of bound forms might be concerned with (1) their incidence in initial or terminal position; (2) identification of other elements with which each bound form is joined. On the first of these heads an impression or two may be in order. With regard to development names as a genre (not merely those from NI), it can be ventured that the following bound forms occur predominantly as initial elements: *briar*, *brook*, *crest*, *fair*, *hill*, *lake*, *oak*, *park*, *rock*, *shore*, and *sun*. Occurring more often in terminal than in initial

[9] Cf. *Manorhaven*, the name of an incorporated village of Nassau County.

[10] Examples from other sources than NI are *Brightwaters Manor Estates* (TSN 1944), *Lake Grove Park* (TSN 1931), *Lynbrook Park Manor* (Lynbrook, L. I.), *Lynwood Gardens Estates* (Valley Stream, L. I.), *Manor Park* (TSN 1934), *Woodland Acres Homes* (Massapequa, L. I.).

All three parts of *Manor Heights Estates* (Pelham Manor, N. Y.) are among the most common generic terms.

position, it appears, are *bridge*, *brook*, *cliff*, *lawn*, *mere*, *more*, *ridge*, *side*, *stone*, *town*, *view*, *ville*, and *wood*. In the NI names the following elements are among those that occurred in both initial and terminal positions: *brook*, *hill*, *lake*, *wood*.

Serial Use of Generic Terms

At times the naming process takes on an almost ritualistic aspect: in one locality after another a place name is employed as a specific in serial combination with popular generic terms.

The Nassau Index shows *Village of Farmingdale* filed in 1846. There followed *Farmingdale Terrace* (1907), *Farmingdale Park* (1908), *Farmingdale Estates* (1920), *Farmingdale Home Sites* (1926), *Farmingdale Park Gardens* (1942), and *Farmingdale Gardens* (1948). *Village of Freeport* was not recorded in NI till 1923, being preceded and followed by maps named *Freeport Manor* (1904), *Freeport Heights* (1906), *Freeport Centre* (1910), *Freeport Terrace* (1913), *Freeport Beach* (1925), *Freeport Lawns* (1926), *Freeport Park Terrace* (1926), *Freeport Bay Estates* (1926), *Freeport Gables* (1927), *Freeport Gardens* (1928), *Freeport Oaks* (1935), and *Freeport Estates* (1948).

Merrick Park turned up in 1891; subsequently came *Merrick Manor* (1904), *Merrick Square* (1906), *Merrick Plaza* (1910), *Merrick Terrace* (1910), *Merrick Gardens* (1925), *Merrick Villa* (1925), *Merrick Gables* (1927), *Merrick Homes* (1938), *Merrick Crest* (1946), *Merrick Lea* (1947). Besides, Merrick boasts *Merrickwood* (1926) and *Merrickwold* (1948).

Like serial combination has taken place in Garden City, Wantagh, Hempstead, Rockville Centre, Westbury, Mineola, and elsewhere. Again, the procedure by which subdivisions are added to an original area is well suggested in these names.[11].

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[11] A point of place-name usage is to be observed in this connection. Especially in the classified advertisements of *NYT* several typographical means are employed to indicate that a given property is in a subdivision of a larger community. The name of the inclusive community usually precedes the name of the subdivision. The two names may be placed on either side of a newspaper column:

Great Neck	*Kings Point*
Scarsdale	*Fox Meadow*
Teaneck	*West Englewood Section*

Sometimes the name of the local school or some other specification is found in the secondary position:

Sometimes in the naming of a new area a word indicating direction is attached to the basic place name. The directional term may be given initial position: *East Floral Park*, *East Freeport Heights*, *East Hempstead Terrace*. Putting the directional term in terminal position may be the more fashionable present practice, though one of the earliest Nassau examples noted is also so arranged: *Brookville Lots South* (1854). Later specimens from NI are *Central Park North* (1906), *Mineola Park North* (1924), *Bellerose Gardens West* (1925), *Mineola East* (1926), *Westbury Manor West* (1926), *Bellmore Park South* (1929).

The permutation of onomastic counters is shown in the reciprocal influences of Forest Hills and Kew Gardens, neighboring communities in Borough of Queens, New York City, which possess, respectively, Forest Hills Gardens and Kew Gardens Hills.[12]

4. *Semantic Themes*

When the body of names is viewed as a whole, broad semantic themes seem to emerge clearly enough. But if it be asked, vis-a-vis many a name, "What does this name 'mean' to the entrepreneur or to the population for which it has been devised?" an answer is not easily determined. The present Section contains a description of the "broad" themes. Taken up in Section 7 are some of the more elusive semantic problems presented by the names.

Rockville Centre	*Wilson School*
Harrison	*Estate Area*

The name of the subdivision may be placed in parentheses: *Bellerose* (*Glen Oaks*).

A dash may appear between the names: *Flushing—Fresh Meadows; Dobbs Ferry—Riverview Manor.*

There may even be no separation between the names: *NYT*, May 22, 1949, locates Crestmont Homes in Scarsdale Longview. (I. e., the Homes are in Longview, which is in Scarsdale.)

Less often the name of the subdivision is placed first: *Norgate—Brookville.*

In more ordinary practice a comma is put between the name of the subdivision and that of the inclusive unit, written in that order: *Munsey Park, Manhasset.*

Vicinity or the abbreviation *Vic* is found as in the following:

Bergen County	*Montvale Vicinity*
Bronxville Vic	(*Bryn Mawr*)

[12] Here I revert to the use of the singular form when a plural ending in a sibilant is used attributively. In an advertisement of the Manufacturers Trust Company we find *Kew Garden Hills* (*New Yorker*, July 21, 1951, p. 35). In Bloomfield, N. J. is a development mentioned in *NYT* as *Forest Hill Manor*. The Tabor Ranch Home is located in Kew Garden Estates. (Advt., *NYT*, Oct. 8, 1950, p. R 3).

The Most Popular Unbound Forms

The overwhelming popularity of *Park* (205) in the Nassau count first demands attention. It seems a safe hypothesis that the bred-in-the-bone city dweller feels — at first, anyway — a certain edginess when confronted with untrimmed expanses of nature. For him a comforting degree of natural beauty is represented by a city park, where the abandon of the wild is decently restrained. In the midst of stone, steel, and traffic, park greenery has a special quality, a flavor of contrast and paradox. The prospect of living in a "park," then, is enhanced by familiar and pleasing associations.[13]

The second-ranking unbound form, *Estate(s)*, scoring 98, continues the suggestion of well-regulated growing things. However with *Estate(s)* the scene is now moved out of the city, and a new theme — prestige — is introduced. *Estate(s)* calls to mind a large personal holding, a pleasing suggestion to prospective home owners.[14]

The observations on *Park* apply in part to *Garden(s)* (third in rank, with a count of 72). In gardens as in parks nature is restrained and ordered. The lesser popularity of *Garden(s)* may be due to the fact that fewer city people have close acquaintance with gardens than with parks. *Terrace* (count, 60) and *Lawn(s)* (count, 18), among the elements of lower incidence, are also tokens of well-manicured nature. The former suggests lounging in a somewhat elaborate man-made setting; implications of wealth and power are probably present, a view is possible. With *Plaza* (count, 22) the scene becomes fully urban.

Manor (count, 66) is fourth in rank. One would not think that *manor*, apart from its use in names, is part of the working vocabulary of the main body of the public that presumably finds it attractive. The English associations of the word no doubt account for

[13] Some advertisements place some emphasis on location within the limits of New York City or near the City. Thus the address of Glen Crest Homes is given as "Union Tpke & 258th St, Glen Oaks/New York City." (Advt., *NYT*, April 15, 1951, p. 8 R) Huntley Estates (in Locustwood Estates) is announced as being "only 4 Blocks from N. Y. C. line." (*NYT*, April 10, 1949, p. R 5) An advertisement for Arbor Oaks (Hollis Hills, Queens) begins, "A New Approach ... / to Country living/ in N. Y. City." (*NYT*, June 10, 1951, p. 2 R).

[14] Perhaps the following names from TSN are intended by their construcion to give even more dignity to *Estates*: *Estates of Montauk* (1913), *Estates of Quogue* (1913), and *Estates of Wading River* (1910).

some of its drawing power, but *manor* also has a place in American history.[15]

Further, the charm of *Manor* may partly derive from its homonym *manner*. Possible suggestions are *good manners*, *to the manner born*, *He has a manner*. Again, can some power to please reside in the sound of the word *manor*? The charm of speech sounds has had its share of subjective inquiry — often of an extremely finespun character — but firm conclusions are rare.

Finally it may be supposed that there is some fascination in the spelling of *manor* — that for many persons there is the charm of a familiar "surprise" in the presence of a single *n* after the *a* representing [æ]. The spelling with a single *n* is in contrast to the relationship between pronunciation and spelling in, e. g., *planer* as against *planner*, *caner* as against *canner*, etc. This spelling "surprise" or strangeness may add to the favorably British flavor of the word. The combination *or*, too, is likely to contribute "richness" or "fullness." By and large, low front vowels and back vowels — or letters commonly representing them — probably have more prestige than high front vowels.[16]

Some light on attidudes toward *Manor* is given in an exchange of letters published in the *Long-Islander* (Huntington, L. I., N.Y.) in 1947. The Huntington Station Board of Trade had moved to change the name of *Huntington Station* to *Huntington Manor*. In a letter published May 29 Fred H. Koster wrote:

The word "Manor" is defined by Webster, who is considered an authority in defining the meaning of words, as meaning "Land belonging to a noble, or so much as he has kept for his own use; jurisdiction of a court baron." As we are far removed from feudal age and customs the word "Manor" certainly is meaningless and foolish in so far as it applies to Huntington Station.

[15] A report of an election contest in Glen Cove, L. I., had this to say of one of the candidates: "She is a Lady of the Manor, being half owner, with her brother, of Sylvester Manor of Shelter Island, said to be the oldest manor house in the country, a grant from the British Crown in 1693." ("3-Party Contest Set in Glen Cove," *NYT*, Oct. 7, 1951, p. 43/1–2).

[16] Cf. "Symbolic Value of the Vowel *I*" in Otto Jespersen, *Linguistica* (Copenhagen and London, 1933). Jespersen writes (p. 284): " ... the sound [i] comes to be easily associated with small, and [u, o, a] with bigger things ..." See also Edward Sapir, "A Study in Phonetic Symbolism," *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 12 (1929), 225–39; and Stanley S. Newman, "Further Experiments in Phonetic Symbolism," *American Journal of Psychology* 45 (1933), 53–75.

In the *Long-Islander* of June 5 another correspondent, Harold E. Willmott, cited the use of the name *Huntington Manor* as far back as 1904. He continued:

> The House & Home Company opened up hundreds of acres in Fairground, both north and south of the railroad – in fact the acreage immediately surrounding the station at that time was known as "Huntington Manor, Section EE" and every other section was named with a letter of the alphabet and "Huntington Manor." Perhaps they thought – if they ever considered it – that all purchasers would be "Lords of the Manor" – a thing even Mr. Koster might approve, perhaps.
>
> "No, Mr. Koster," this writer concluded,
>
> though a "rose by any other name" may smell as sweet, I think and have always thought that the name "Station" gave this district a distinctly dark hued, if not an actual black eye. I have no doubt that the officials of the "Station" Bank, being progressive and farseeing men, will gladly change the name of their bank to the Bank of Huntington Manor.
>
> I'd like to ask Mr. Koster – since he is so particular about feudal or royal titles, who is Emperor of the Empire State?

The *Suffolk County, L. I. Telephone Diectory, July 1951*, of the New York Telephone Company listed five businesses having names beginning with *Huntington Station*. Six other firms with Huntington telephone numbers had *Station* as the first word of their names. *Huntington Manor Jewelers* and *Huntington Manor Fire Department* were the only listings beginning with *Huntington Manor*. But twelve firms in the area called themselves *Manor Barber Shop*, *Manor Tavern*, etc. By such evidence the *Station-Manor* score was 11–14, unless we add the name of the post office, which remained *Huntington Station*.

Heights (count, 43) in these names does not necessarily signify topographical elevation. A conjectural town Belleview may have a section called *Belleview Heights*, together with *Belleview Manor*, *Belleview Terrace*, etc. But the "Heights" section may be no more a height than the "Manor" section is a manor or the "Terrace" section a terrace. Perhaps of greater force than the denotation of physical height in hypothetical *Belleview Heights* is the suggestion of social or economic altitude. (Cf. the evaluative social connotations of such expressions as *high society*, *high-powered*, *top-drawer*, and *high-bracket*.)

The emotive force of *Home(s)* (count, 53) is evident. But in development names the denotation is that given by the Supplement of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1933), s. v. *home*: "In U.S. and Canada, freq. used to designate a private house or residence merely as a building."

The word *villa* is obsolescent in the United States. In NI most employments of *Villa(s)* (count, 34) dated between 1874 and 1919, but it was recorded once each in 1933 and 1938. In a good many of NI's development names containing *Villa*, that word was an element of a specific term, as in *Cedar Hill Villa Sites* (1890). But *Villa* also occurred as a generic term, as in *Great Neck Villa* (1908) and *Whitehouse Villa* (1903). In formations like these last *Villa* may be intended to suggest a kind of especially romantic village.[17] The elegant suggestions of *villa* in its usual sense may largely explain the charm of the word in most development names in which it figures. However some of the attraction of *villa* (as of *terrace*, *plaza*, and *manor*) may derive from its foreign flavor. For this suggestion I am indebted to Professor Madison S. Beeler.

The appeal of the promises conveyed in *View(s)* (count, 24) and *Beach* (count, 15) requires no comment. Bearing on the relatively low rank of these elements may be the fact that these words are likely to be used with more literal value than are, e. g., *Park* and *Heights*; a development called *Harbor View* is likely to have a view of a harbor somewhere about, and even in the sphere of developments a hypothetical *Sandy Beach* might be considered overimaginative unless there were a beach nearby. Some other elements in the development names more notably tend to lose literal value.

The evidence seems to show that *Farm(s)* (count, 15) is now usually applied to developments containing costly properties. The persons buying such houses would be more apt to have some acquaintance with country-gentleman life. To those on lower economic levels who come from lifelong residence in the City, *Farm* is less likely to make agreeable suggestions; this sector of the population, we may

[17] Neither *OED* nor other dictionaries consulted give the sense "village" for *villa*; but such seems to be its meaning in the following: "Their [the Germans] edifices were not even contiguous, or formed into regular villas; each barbarian fixed his independent dwelling on the spot to which a plain, a wood, or a stream of fresh water had induced him to give the preference." (Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* [New York: The Modern Library, 1932], I, 191).

surmise, is drawn to the well-ordered images called up by *Park*, *Estate(s)*, *Garden(s)*, and *Terrace*.

The use of *Farm* with a family name, as in *Winthrop Farm* (NI 1879), has sometimes signified that the farm belonging to this family was cut into building lots. In present naming operations *Farm* seems rarely to be employed in this way. More often, it appears, *Farm(s)* is embellished with a specific term that has pulling power. Thus the change of custom seems to be related to improvement in selling techniques. Fashionable import seems possible with either the singular or plural form: *Windmill Farm* (Armonk, N. Y.); *The Yale Farms* (Greenwich, Conn., and North Castle, N. Y.).

A few generic terms should be noticed for their rarity — perhaps some of them for their uniqueness in such employment. Nomahegan Reserve is at Cranford, N. J. Grassy Sprain[18] Heights is a subdivision of Yonkers, N. Y. Deer-pen (also printed *Deer Pen*) is at Babylon, L. I. *Amagansett Villa Plat* (1913), *Clover Tract* (1909), and *Fordham Tract* (1912) are from TSN. *Hillside Tuxedo* (1939) and *Round Hill Sub-Division* (1947) are from NI.

As for bound forms, it has been seen that fewer of these are of marked frequency. Most refer to natural features, and some are archaic elements whose denotation is almost surely unknown to most developers and their customers. For semantic study it therefore seems best to classify the constructs in which the bound forms occur, rather than to comment on bound forms proper.

Presentment of Britishry

The long tradition of British and British-sounding place names in America is extended to the names of real-estate developments. Many development names reproduce English, Scotch, or Welsh place names (or approximate them) or include them as constituent elements.

The following examples are from NI:

Angle-Sea (1903)
Bedford Heights (1927)
Belgrave Square (1925)
Berkeley Grove (1927)
Burleigh Park (1871)
Cambridge Estates (1949)

[18] *OED* gives a transitive verb *sprain* "to sprinkle," with the agricultural sense "to sow (seeds, etc.) with the hand." Citations date 1440–1947. No corresponding substantive *sprain* is listed. However, a substantive *spraing* has the meaning "A glittering or brightly-coloured stripe, streak, or ray." For the latter word *OED* has exemplifications dating 1513–1824.

Canterbury (1929)
Croyden Homes (1946)
Devonshire (1946)
Dover Gardens (1936)
Essex Homes (1942)
Hampton Court (1915)
Hampton Gardens (1926)
Highland Homes (1921)
Hyde Park Plaza (1917)
Isle of Wight (1883)
Kensington Manor (1926)
Kent Terrace (1950)
Oxford Gardens (1946)
Oxford Terrace (1926)
Plymouth Estates (1940)
Plymouth Hempstead Gardens (1927)
Salisbury Park Manor (1950)
Surrey Lane Dev. (1935)
Sutton Park (1939)
Westminster (1924)
Windsor Park (1909)
Yorkshire (1929)

From TSN we have:

Avonmore Park, First Addition (1895)
Highlands of Patchogue (1913)
Kensington (1944)
Maidstone Park (1910)
Mowbray Manor (1902)
St. George's Manor (1911)
Somerset Park (1912)
Wellington Farms (1934)
Wychwood (1946)

The following were found in *NYT*:

Berkeley Imperial Homes (Bayside, Queens)
Cheshire Homes (Rockville Centre, L. I.)
Chesterfield Homes (Jamaica Estates, North, Queens)
Clarendon Hills (River Edge, N. Y.)
Devonshire Woods (New Rochelle, N. Y.)
Clarendon Hills (River Edge, N.J.)
Dorchester (New Hyde Park, L. I.)
Durham Park Heights (Stelton, N. J.)
Hampshire Estates (Great Neck, L. I.)
Heathcote Homes (Garden City, L. I.)
Holbrooke Manor (White Plains, N. Y.)
Lynbrook Highlands (Lynbrook, L. I.)
Mayfair Homes (Ozone Park, L. I.)
Salisbury Park Manor (East Meadow, L. I.)
Strathmore Village (Manhasset, L.I.)
Surrey Estates (Hollis, Queens)
Surrey Hills Homes (Bergenfield, N. J.)
Sutton Park Homes ("in beautiful Sutton Park. . . Lawrence, L.I.")
The Highlands (Waldwick, N. J.)
Westminster Manor Homes (Laurelton, Queens)
Windsor Park Homes (East Brunswick, N. J.)

Perhaps *Bayfair* (TSN 1948) should be adduced here as being close enough to the inescapable *Mayfair*. *Pembroke* (TSN 1946) reproduces a Welsh place name. Hyde Park Manor is in New Hyde Park, not far from New York City.

A section consisting largely of farms, at New Milford, Conn. is called *Park Lane*. It was originally *Pug Lane*. The change to *Park Lane* was made, I am told, at some time in the later nineteenth century.

Though the names considered above are of British cast, most of them embody names that are established in other parts of the United States. Thus it is possible that a *Plymouth* or an *Essex* has some reference to a place in Massachusetts or Connecticut — or in any one of half a dozen other states. However, in the context of developments the fact of the Anglophile tradition seems to warrant the supposition that platters of developments attach primary importance to overseas associations of the names.[19]

Apart from the employment of British place names or semblances thereof, a number of development names clearly allude to British nomenclature or aspire to its vein. Many such names involve bound or unbound forms that are obsolete British terms or are current in Britain but in this country are little used, if at all, with traditional denotation. Rather, in America these elements are merely conventionalized components of place names and development names. It is doubtful that most Americans are conscious of the current or obsolete (whichever it may be) denotation, in Britain, of such bound forms as *bourne*, *brae*, *burn*, *bury*, *croft*, *fold*, *holme*, *hurst*, *leigh*, *ley*, *mede*, *mere*, *minster*, *more*, *shaw*, *stead*, *win*, and *wold*; and of such unbound forms as *Croft*, *Downs*, *Glen*, *Heath*, *Lea*, and *Loch*. These forms, except *bourne*, *brae*, *leigh*, *ley*, *mede*, *minster*, *more*, *Glen*, and *Loch*, were among those counted in the recording from the Nassau Index and are exemplified in the report of the count. Most of the exceptions are shown in *Marbourne Homes* (Bethpage, L. I.), *Hillbrae Ranch Homes* (Huntington, L. I.), *Addisleigh Park* (St. Albans, L. I.), *Cheverley Estates* (Great Neck, L. I.), *Heathermede Hills* (Cranford, N. J.), *Rosevale* (TSN 1921), and *Loch Haven at Merrick* (Merrick, L. I.). A brogue as broad as a claymore must be spoken by the residents of "the Bonnie Briar section of Rouken Glen," an identification attached to a picture in NYT.[20]

[19] Anglophilism is tangibly manifested in houses of Tudor design. Perhaps the heyday of that style was in and about the decade 1915–1925. But interest in the mood of English antiquity is mixed with the desire for American modernity. An advertisement (*NYT*, May 22, 1949, p. R 11/6) offers "A Tudor Period Home!" in Laurelton, Queens, with "a cross-ventilated domestic science kitchen full of those custom-built baked enamel cabinets," "an elegant colored tile bathroom with a glass enclosed stall shower," and other up-to-date comforts.

[20] Dec. 5, 1948, p. R 1.

Downs seems to be well thought of in recent years, as in *Bethpage Downs* (Bethpage, L. I.), *Hathaway Downs* (Syosset, L. I.), and *Malverne Downs* (Malverne, L. I.).

More direct references seem to be made to Albion in *Parliament Homes* (North Babylon, L. I.), *Saxon Park* (TSN 1906), and *Tudor Gate* (1941). "English" examples are perhaps epitomized by a development name seen amid the dune land on Route 27, to Montauk, L. I.: *English Manor Knolls.*

British models would seem to be responsible for a group of names — its size seems to be increasing — that consist, each, of a primary element modified by a locative phrase. Long Island examples are:

Brentwood-in-the-Pines (TSN, 1915)
Brookside-at-Milburn
Hillside Terrace-at-Albertson
Jackson Park-at-Syosset
Lakeville Estates-at-East Meadow
Marchant Park at Roslyn
Mayfair-at-Wantagh
Nassau by the Sea
Park Villa on the Hills
Pineaire in Pines
Pinehurst-by-the-Sea (TSN, 1915)
Stuart-at-Bethpage
Stuart-at-Massapequa[21]
Sutton-in-Lawrence
Westwood at Roslyn
Wilshire in Great Neck
Woodedge at Westbury

A development (or each of two developments) was called *Town-House-in-Great Neck.* Another such name is *Marlane-in-Massapequa.* A curious twist is found in *In-the-Pines-of-Brightwater* (TSN 1915).

Compare such English place names as *Bourton-on-the-Water* (Gloucestershire), *Barton-in-Fabis* (Nottinghamshire), and (best known to Americans) *Stratford-on-Avon.* Among similar established names in the United States are *Annandale-on-Hudson*, *Ardsley-on-Hudson*, *Croton-on-Hudson*, and *Hastings-on-Hudson* — all in New York; and *Avon by the Sea* (New Jersey). In *Ardsley-on-Putnam*

[21] *NYT*, March 18, 1951, p. R 1/1. In its issue of April 29, 1951, the same paper carried an advertisement for *Stuart Park at Massapequa.* Presumably both names refer to the same project. Development names are not always written in the same style. Another seeming example of variation is in *Lakeville Estates-at-East Meadow* (a news story, *NYT*, Feb. 18, 1951, p. R 1) and *Lakeville Estates* (advt., *NYT*, April 22, 1951, p. R 7). Similarly a development has been called, in print, *Briar Park* and *Briar Park Homes*; and *Thrifty Ranch Homes* has been seen as *Thrifty Homes.*

What we have in these instances seems to be evidence that development names, like other linguistic elements, are subject to change. On occasion it is possible to see (or so facts suggest) a selected name gravitating to a different form — one better meeting the demands of pronunciation or speech rhythms or economy of effort or whatever. *Woodcliff Manor Homes Sec. 1* was filed in NI Oct. 5, 1949 from Franklin

(Westchester County) *Putnam* refers to the now defunct Putnam Division of the New York Central Railroad.

A few "English" names are the subjects of a kind of spelling alteration that characterizes a class of public names. From NI there are *Burkley Grove* (1927) and *Devendale* (1927). Notice also *Kennilworth* (Great Neck, L. I.). Though the spelling of original place names is altered in such examples, no change in pronunciation is reflected. Some of these spellings may be simply erroneous. If the alterations are intentional they may take rise in a desire for originality.[22]

Another type of alteration is represented in *Wilshire in Great Neck* (L. I.), *Wilshire Homes* (Bellerose Manor, Queens), and *Wimbleton Lane* (NI 1949); here pronunciation seems to be changed, as well as spelling.

Other spelling flourishes contribute atmosphere. In *Cedarbrooke* (Plainfield, N. J.), *Parkway Oakes Homes* (Lakeville, L. I.), and "'The' Oakes" (NI 1894), we can safely take the "silent *e*" to be an "old English" *e* — and so, particularly "English." NI has, alphabetically placed by the name of Leonie W. Eilers, *The Hamlett of Littleworth* (1939). *Dunwoodie* (Yonkers, N. Y.) also appears to represent a quaint spelling.

Nature, Plain and Adorned

Possibly the largest group of names is composed of those that refer to physiographic features, atmospheric conditions, the sun,

Square. *Woodcliff Manor Homes Sec. 2*, also of Franklin Square, appears as of Dec. 5, 1949; *Sec. 3* as of March 15, 1950. Easily imagined is the selection of a somewhat unusual form, *Woodclift*, which hardly anyone could be got to call anything but "Woodcliff"; and the ultimate spelling *Woodcliff*.

The same process is inferrible from the appearance of a *Gragmere Heights Corporation* (*NYT*, Jan. 21, 1951, p. R 1/1), which was building dwellings at Mahwah, N. J.; and of *Cragmere Heights Estates* (*NYT*, June 24, 1951, p. R 1/5–6), "in the Cragmere Heights section of Mahwah, N. J." Supposing that these names apply to the same project and that no typographical error is involved, we may have here another instance of the modification of a name (from *Grag-* to *Crag-*) under the pressure of common pronunciation.

Cf. finally, *The Ridges* (Section 1, 1947) and *The Ridge* (Section 2, 1948) – both at Syosset, L. I. and listed in NI.

[22] Examples from other semantic groups are *Castillian Plaza* (NI 1926) and *Nirvanna Gardens* (NI 1926), and *Amended Map of Atlantique* (TSN 1915). *O'Co'Nee* (TSN 1916) looks like *Oconee*, a place name in at least six states of the Union, Irishized. The Devonsheer Melba Corporation, making food products, was in West New York, N. J.

vegetation, and other phenomena of nature. Most of the popular unbound elements in the Nassau Index sampling directly denote or suggest natural beauty. Many bound elements make similar reference.

A sizable number of names contain reference to physiographic heights of one kind or another:

Belle Crest (TSN 1907)
Eastern Crest Estates (NI 1948)
Eastern Crest Homes (Port Washington, L. I.)
Forest Ridge Homes (Midland Park, N. J.)
Glenridge Homes (Bellerose, Queens)
Hewlett Crest Park (Hewlett, L. I.)
Larchmont Ridge (Larchmont, N.Y.)
New Westcliff Homes (New Rochelle, N. Y.)
Northcrest Gardens (Flushing, Queens)
River Crest Estates (West Englewood, N. J.)
Shore Crest (Glen Cove, L. I.)
Shore Crest Gardens (Inwood, L. I.)
Woodcrest (TSN 1910)

Glen Head Overlook (NI 1923), *Highland Homes* (NI 1921), *Hillcrest Park* (NI 1927), *Hillside Heights* (NI 1936), *Hill Top Manor* (TSN 1925), *Little Neck Uplands* (NI 1932), *Overlook* (NI 1923), *Ridge Crest* (NI 1924), and *Vernon Hills Estates* (Eastchester, N. Y.) — these contain other allusions to altitude. A marked amount of rolling is present, especially in recent names: *Rolling Hills Estates* (Harrison, N. Y.), *Rolling Ridge Estates* (NI 1937), *Rolling Park* (NI 1947), *Rolling Wood* (NI 1933), *Rollingwood* (NI 1949), *Rollingwood* (Huntington, L. I.).

Attention is claimed by bodies of water and adjoining land formations:

Bay Way (TSN 1928)
Cedar Beach Manor (TSN 1927)
Cold Stream Gardens (NI 1925)
Forest Lake Manor (Wantagh, L. I.)
Greenport Shores (Greenport, L. I.)
Lake Grove Park (TSN 1931)
Lakehurst Manor (TSN 1938)
Lake Pines (TSN 1945)
Lakes Pines (TSN 1946)
Lakeside Manor (NI 1908)
Lake Terrace Park (TSN 1922)
Lakeview Terrace (TSN 1926)
Lakewood Park (TSN 1927)
Map of Lakeview (TSN 1935)
Ocean Heights Estates (TSN 1926)
Ocean Lawns (TSN 1927)
Ocean View Park (TSN 1909)
Riverside Gardens (TSN 1926)
Seaside Shores (TSN 1947)
Sea View Colony (TSN 1929)
The Cove (NI 1944)
Westhampton Shores (TSN 1927)
Wildwood Shores (TSN 1937)

Brook is one of the most popular elements in the aquatic group. *Brookville* and *Brookhaven* are established Long Island place names;

the latter marks the location of the Brookhaven National Laboratory for Atomic Research at Camp Upton, Suffolk County. The map for a development named *Brookhaven* at Port Washington, Nassau County, was filed in 1927. Some other uses of *brook* in Nassau are: *Brookfield* (NI 1906), *Brookside* (NI 1889), *Brookwold Park* (NI 1922), *Brookwood* (NI 1925), and *Pinebrook Manor* (NI 1927). *Arrowbrook Park Homes* is in Kew Gardens Hills, Queens. *Clearbrook Park* (TSN 1912) and *Willowbrook Park* (TSN 1906) are examples from Suffolk County. *Cedar Brook Grove* (NI 1926) and *Red Brook Terrace* (NI 1926) show the unbound form.

A voluminous list could be made of development names referring to trees and other vegetation. *Wood* and *grove* make generalized reference in this sphere:

Blenwood Estates (Hempstead, L.I.)
Fleetwood (Mount Vernon, N. Y.)
Greenwood Park (TSN 1929)
Groveland Park (TSN 1908)
Huntswood (Mount Vernon, N. Y.)
Tanglewood (NI 1923)
Wildwood Hills (TSN 1936)
Wildwood Park (TSN 1909)
Woodland Acres (Massapequa, L.I.)
Woodland Estates (NI 1926)
Woodland Homes at Meadowcrest Park (NI 1926)

The oak, the pine, and the cedar are the trees most commonly memorialized in the materials examined:

Hollis Oaks (Hollis, Queens)
Oakdale Park (NI Bellmore, 1925)
Oakdale Park (NI Roosevelt, 1925)
Oak Grove (NI 1924)
Oak Grove Terrace (NI 1912)
Oakland Park (NI 1906)
Oak Manor (NI 1923)
Oak Manor (NI 1926)
Oakmere Manor (NI 1919)
Oak Neck Park (NI 1936)
Oakview Terrace (NI 1926)
Pinebrook Manor (NI 1927)
Pine Grove Gardens (TSN 1934)
Pine Hollow Park (NI 1923)
Pine Lake Park (NI 1937)
Pine Park (NI 1923)
Pine Terrace (NI 1926)
Ronkonkoma Pine Gardens (TSN 1927)
Stately Oaks (NI 1938)
Tall Oaks (Bayside Hills, Queens)
West Fair Oaks (NI 1907)
Cedar Brook Grove (NI 1926)
Cedar Heights (NI 1907)
Cedar Hill Villa Sites (NI 1890)
Cedar Lawn Estates (NI 1948)
Cedar Park (NI 1928)
Cedar Ridge (NI 1949)
Cedar Terrace (NI 1910)
Ronkonkoma Cedar Grove (TSN 1927)

Romantically named is Land O' Pines, N. J. By now this designation may rank as a place name.

Other vegetation is less frequently celebrated:

Beechwood and Sunnycroft (NI 1912)
Beechwood Gardens (NI 1941)
Beechwood Lawns (NI 1948)
Birchwood (NI 1937)
Briar Cliff (Merrick, L. I.)
Briarcliff Manor (Ardsley, N. Y.)
Briarmede (Westfield, N. J.)
Briar Park Homes (Hicksville, L.I.)
Clover Tract (TSN 1909)
Dogwood Terrace (NI 1937)
Gardenia Park (NI 1927)
Golden Rod Heights (TSN 1909)
Locustwood Estates (NI 1927)
Locust Hill Park (NI 1896)
Rosebank (TSN 1914)
Roses Grove (TSN 1910)
Rosevale Park (TSN 1939)
Roseville Homesites (TSN 1939)
Sweet Briar (NI 1939)
Sweetbriar (North Baldwin, L. I.)
The Birches (NI 1941)
Turecamo Briarbrook (NI 1947)
Under the Maples Park (North Baldwin, L. I.)

The view is extensively noticed:

Atlantic View Park (NI 1926)
Bay View Park (NI 1905)
Belle View Addition (TSN 1896)
Clearview Park (NI 1922)
Fair View Estates (NI 1923)
Glen View Park (NI 1924)
Golf View Gardens (1925)
Grandview Homes (Leonia, N. J.)
Grand View Park (NI 1907)
Lake View Terrace (NI 1922)
Park View Gardens (NI 1936)
Plainview (TSN 1910)
Viewacre (TSN 1913)
Villaview Heights (TSN 1910)
Villa View Heights (TSN 1910)
Waterview (NI 1922)

NI showed *Bay View* (or *Bayview*) used in eleven places in Nassau County, the earliest example being *Bay View Park*, 1891. *Fairview* precedes *Farms* and *Manor* in the Nassau Index; and it is placed before *Park* in four localities, the filing dates ranging from 1890 (Rockville Centre) to 1941 (Farmingdale). Then 1948 produced a *Fairview* solum. Thus among the Nassau listings this independent unit seems to be a back formation, as it were, from the earlier compound forms.

The sun is utilized:

Sun Glow Park (TSN 1949)
Sunmore Homes (Oceanside, L. I.)
Sunny Brook Manor (TSN 1924)
Sunny Ridge (Harrison, N. Y.)
Sunny Side Gardens (NI 1934)
Sunnyside Park (Montvale, N. J.)
Sun Ranch Homes (Teaneck, N. J.)
Sunrise Beach (NI 1927)
Sunset Hills (NI 1935)
Suntown Homes (NI 1949)

The good air of the vicinage is sometimes rhapsodized, as in *Breezy Point* (NI 1913) and *Pine-Aire Farms* (TSN 1938).

The fox has some fashion: *Foxdale Homes* (Oceanside, L. I.), *Fox Hollow* (NI 1948), *Foxhurst Gardens Homes* (Baldwin, L. I.), *Fox Meadow* (Scarsdale, N. Y.). *Ravenswood* (NI 1940) embodies the name of a bird not familiar in the region. But the robin is not rare there and it is signalized in, e. g., *Robin Homes* (NI 1948), *Robin Wood* (NI 1906), *Robinwood* (NI 1924), *Robinswood* (NI 1949). *Birdhaven*, dating from 1928, is in Lakeview, L. I. *Whiting Park* (TSN 1927) may be a reminder of a personal name rather than a monument to a delicious fish.

Various other notes are struck in the realm of natural description: *Dawn Estates* (TSN 1937), *Flintstone Park* (NI 1919), *Greystone, Sec., 1* (NI 1940), *Stepping Stone* (NI 1947), *Stepping Stone Park* (NI 1905). *Natures Gardens* was filed from Brookhaven in 1931; in 1932 this development produced an *Adirondack Section*, a *Berkshire Heights Section*, a *Paradise Park Section*, and a *Pine Acres Section*. *Natures Park* was established in Brookhaven in 1931.

Knoll is hardly a commonly used word among urban people, for whom most of the developments here in view are primarily designed. Perhaps for this very reason the word has a certain fascination in this context. At any rate it seems to be on the increase in development names. Some examples:

Aldercress Knolls (Closter, N. J.)
Cedar Knolls (Bronxville, N. Y.)
Dogwood Knolls (West Hempstead, L. I.)
Elmwood Knolls
Forest Knolls (Greenwood Lake, N. Y.)
Great Neck Knolls (Great Neck, L.I.)
Gregory Knolls (Bloomfield, N. J.)
Hewlett Knolls (Valley Stream, L. I.)
Kew Knolls Homes (Kew Gardens Hills, Queens)
Knoll Crest Park, Block 2 (TSN 1909)
Knollwood (NI 1920; TSN 1923)
Knollwood Beach (NI 1925)
Knollwood Manor (Westchester, N. Y.)
Knollwood Terrace (Carle Place, L. I.)
Maple Knolls (Haworth, N. J.)
Oakwood Knolls (Wayne Township, N. J.)
Ridgewood Knolls (Paramus, N. J.)
Rothrock Knolls (Seaford, L. I.)
Searington Knolls (Searington, L. I.)
Wantagh Knolls (Wantagh, L. I.)

(Next to be exemplified is the use of personal names.)

New Milford, Connecticut

The Indian Place Names of Kentucky

THOMAS P. FIELD

KENTUCKY IS CONSTANTLY YIELDING CLEAR EVIDENCE of long occupation by a succession of Indian cultures. Is it possible that the last Indian occupation and the beginning of white settlement had enough overlap and contact to allow the continuation of some Indian place names into the contemporary world? A casual survey of the state map creates a large measure of pessimism. Only Ohio County and the city of Paducah are evident possibilities. The Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee and Mississippi rivers are of certain Indian origins. Beyond this point the search must become involved with the mass of names of neighborhoods, streams, hills, historical sites and some folk lore.

The Department of Anthropology of the University of Kentucky has estimated that during the pioneer period there are recorded only a few over one-hundred white-Indian contacts. As evidence of how slight the contact actually was, a Mr. Ficklin writing from Lexington in 1847 said: "...I have myself an acquaintance with the Indian history of the State from the year 1781..."

"There is one fact favorable to this State which belongs to few, if any, of the sister States. We have not to answer, to any tribunal, for the crime of driving off the Indian tribes, and possessing their lands. There were no Indians located within our limits, on our taking possession of the country."[1]

Due to differences in the geographical areas referred to as Kentucky, the complete record does not allow such positive statements as those made by Mr. Ficklin, but the sense of his statement is essentially true. There is evidence that close to the time of his arrival in Kentucky there were some Shawnee villages on the Kentucky side

[1] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Information Respecting the History, Conditions and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, Part I*, Lippincott, Gumbo & Co., 1853, p. 300–301.

of the Ohio up and downstream from the mouth of the Scioto River.[2] A village site which was occupied as late as the historical period was located at Hagerhill in Johnson County.[3] The record of a displaced band of Shawnees and their camping ground in eastern Clark County is recorded on the Gist map of 1751.[4] In the western and southern parts of the state random and refugee bands from the south, Chickasaws, Creeks, Choctaws and Cherokees paused long enough to leave some memory of their passing. For an example instance Collins reports, "... Red Bird Fork and Jack's Creek [named] from two friendly Indians bearing those names,...[5]

Early in the career of Mr. Ficklin there were attempts to clear the Cherokee from the general area bounded by the Cumberland River on the north and the present Kentucky-Tennessee state line on the south.[6] In 1795 the Shawnees were confined, by treaty, to lands north of the Ohio River.[7] Such accounts clearly show why Mr. Ficklin would not be impressed by such Indians as were present, as none were legally at home in Kentucky.

The unsettled state of the Indians at this time also is in part explained in a statement by Morgan; he wrote, "As early as the opening of the 17th century the League of the Iroquois launched a period of intra-Indian warfare which reached westward to the Mississippi and southward to South Carolina and the Tennessee River. By 1700 most of the encompassed groups were, 'According to the Indian notion they were made women...'"[8] This general disruption resulted in the lack of permanent Indian settlements in Kentucky. And this condition when combined with land cessions and land purchases reduced the pioneer-Indian contacts, friendly or hostile, to meetings on grounds which were the home territory of neither.

[2] *Christopher Gist's Journal with Historical and Ethnological Notes and Biographies of Historical Contemporaries*, J. R. Weldon Co., Pittsburgh, 1893, p. 44.

[3] W. S. Webb and W. D. Funkhouser, *Archaeological Survey of Kentucky*, publication of the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of Kentucky, Sept. 1932, p. 206.

[4] Gist, op. cit., p. 44.

[5] R. Collins, *History of Kentucky*, Collins & Co., Covington, 1882, p. 141.

[6] C. C. Royce, "Indian Land Cessions of the United States," *18th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Smithsonian Institute, 1899, p. 648.

[7] Ibid, p. 654.

[8] L. H. Morgan, *League of the HO-DE-NO-SAU-NEE or Iroquois*, Vol. I, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1851, p. 14.

The pioneers were truly foreigners in the land and the Shawnee were only hunters on the neutral ground between their Ohio home and the Cherokee lands to the south in Tennessee.

The pioneers, unlike the Indians, were in the process and possessed of the means to make Kentucky their home. They proceeded to name the physical and cultural features of their habitat in a distinctly American manner. As Speed stated, "The various stations or forts which were dotted all over the level lands where the great army of immigrants spread themselves were principally named in honor of the leading pioneers. The memory of the Indian was seldom perpetuated in the names of mountain or stream, village or fort, and never in the roads and traces of the country."[9]

In Speed's statement there is left a thread of hope that some Indian place names did survive. Certainly this could not have happened often or accurately. Assuming that some of the pioneers may have wanted to perpetuate an Indian place name, there are reasonable possibilities why this did not happen in a form which can be positively identified today. Even though the Indian name for the place was known the name was really a compound word i. e., "Alanantowamiowee," the Buffalo Path,[10] or, "Nepepenine Sepe," the Salt River.[11] Such names would be difficult to incorporate into an English vocabulary. Thus, "Wepepocone-Cepewe," the Big Sandy, "Milewakene-Cepewe," the Kentucky River, "Lewekeomi," the Falls of the Ohio and other such names were never carried forward.[12] The pronunciation difficulties of such Indian names was complemented by a distaste for Indian culture and a preoccupation with the myriad problems of pioneering. It is to be expected that the continuation of an Indian name will be accompanied by some degree of alteration from the original spoken word. What are the expectations of such words as Schochoh, Ouasioto, Tyewhoppety, Helechawa, Thealka and Dango?

With the statements of Speed and Ficklin well in mind, with attention to the caution of Beeler[13] and an awareness that results

[9] T. Speed, *The Wilderness Road*, John P. Morton Co., Louisville, Ky., 1886, p. 68–69.

[10] Ibid, p. 69.

[11] ——, Trans. & Collections, American Antiquities Society, Vol. I, p. 229.

[12] Speed, op. cit., p. 72.

[13] M. S. Beeler, "On Etymologizing Indian Place-Names," *Names*, Vol. V, no. 4, Dec. 1957, p. 236 et seq.

would be inconclusive, a search for the Indian place names of the state was undertaken. The product of this search is the object of this paper.

The basic data used in the search for the Indian place names was contained in a card file of over thirty thousand place names compiled from various sources. The primary sources for this compilation were the topographic maps at a scale of 1:24,000 covering the entire state, 1:62,500 topographic maps covering one-half of the state, two series of county highway maps and a series of community and neighborhood maps produced by the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station.

For the first screening of the thirty thousand place names an "open door" policy was established. About four hundred names were selected for further consideration. A second and third review combined with research reduced the list to about one hundred and fifty "possibles." The fourth screening had as its objective the elimination of those names which were of Indian origin but which have become common property in American usage. Only if the name had strong Kentucky connections was a common Indian name retained. Removed from the list were such words as: persimmon, terrapin, hurricane, kinniconick, Mississippi, Tennessee, Cherokee and Tso-non-pow-aka. No consideration was given to any place names in English e. g., Indian Creek, Indian Fort, Yellow Creek, Eagle Creek or Blue Licks. Sample research indicated a lack of source material in this area. The end result of the several screenings was a list of about ninety place names which strongly suggested Indian origins or about which there was an uncertainty.

The research on these ninety place names revealed that about thirty had some close Indian connection or were still unaccounted for. The following twelve names were deleted: *Catawba* (Kuttawa) (Cuttawa), a borrowed Siouan word which in the first two instances was applied by whites to their own settlements and in the last instance went out of use before 1780; *Elkatawa*, which is possibly a corruption of the name of the "Prophet" Ellskwatawa; *Peedee*, a borrowed Siouan word of recent use in Kentucky; *Panola*, a borrowing of the Choctaw word for cotton as a place name; *Atoka*, a word said to have been borrowed from the Choctaw but which has no meaning in that language; *Okolona*, a word in the Chickasaw language which is descriptive of an Indian who impressed the whites;

Dango, possibly a Cherokee word but unsupported by local information, if Cherokee it would mean "ground;" *Yamacraw*, a name taken from a book which referred to this band of Creeks and applied to a railroad station; *Watauga*, which was transported to Kentucky from east Tennessee and applied to two villages, in Cherokee the word means "broken water;" *Bayou*, an Indian-French generic term derived from Choctaw which is correctly and incorrectly used in at least six instances of stream names; *Chenowee* (Chennoweth) (Chenneth) (Chenoa) (Chinoe), probably a transported Cherokee place name from Tennessee, (if Cherokee it might mean "bitter," possibly it is Choctaw in origin and if so would mean "gap,") *Wasioto* is possibly a Cherokee personal name but the use in Bell County is unsupported by reliable information.

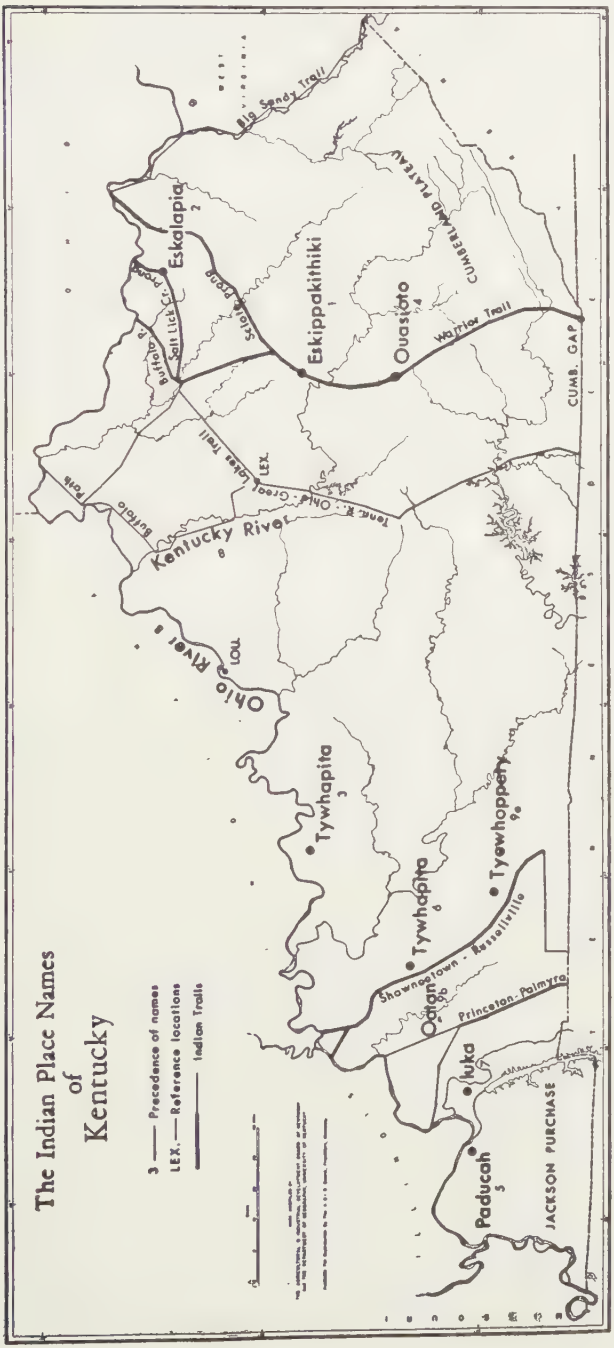
The following place names are unexplained either as words or names. They are presumed to have no Indian origin or reference: Cutuno, Datha, Nimmo, Nisi, Sano, Sketo, Vada, Wysox and Yeadiss.

The possibility of classification of the Indian place names is limited both by the small number of names and the varying nature of the data supporting them. None of the names have escaped the effects of such erosional forces as crosscultural hazards in language always present. All are, in some measure, historically uncertain and some lose stature through disuse or uncertain revival. Because degrees of penalties are implied in the above statement the following list of Indian place names is presented in descending order of precedence (see fig. 1):

(1) *Eskippakithiki* — A historical site in Clark County. According to Becker the site covers an area of three thousand five hundred acres.[14] The site lies on the eastern margin of the Outer Bluegrass region and is thus flanked to the east by The Knobs and the escarpment of the Cumberland Plateau. Geomorphic and geologic evidence reveals that this area is the strath of an ancient stream and is underlain by a succession of eastward dipping strata of Ordovician, Silurian, Devonian and Tertiary formations.[15] The map reveals that much of the area is the divide between the south and west flowing Howard Creek and the south flowing Lulbegrud Creek.

[14] W. M. Becker, *Indian Fields*, manuscript transcribed by G. F. Doyle, p. 1.

[15] R. P. Meacham, A. C. Munyan and G. R. Wesley, *Geologic Map of Clark County, Kentucky*, U. of Ky. Geological Survey, series IX, 1950.


The Indian Place Names of Kentucky
3 —— Precedence of names
LEX.— Reference locations
Indian Trails
Big Sandy Trail
Eskalapia
2
Eskippakithiki
1
Ouasioto
4
Warrior Trail
CUMBERLAND PLATEAU
CUMB. GAP
Kentucky River
8
Ohio River
9
Tywhapita
3
Tywhapita
6
Tywhoppety
10
Shawneetown - Kaskaskia
Princeton-Palmyra
Kuka
Paduchah
5
JACKSON PURCHASE
Salt Lick Cr.
Buffalo Trace
Lower Creek
LEX.

The Evans-Pownall map gives an accurate location of this site early in the English period.[16] This location was occupied by Indians, to some extent, from the beginning of the Christian era until 1755.[17] Historically it is known that the site was occupied by a band of Shawnee in 1745–48 and was last occupied by a similar band of Shawnee in 1755.[18]

A Dr. T. Michaelson is quoted as saying that the first four syllables of the name undoubtedly contain the Shawnee word meaning "green." Prof. A. C. Mahr furnishes a more complete statement regarding the etymology of the name. He says, "...and [they] gave those lands the name *Shkipakethiki*, 'place where it is green all over'."[19]

On the geologic map of Clark County[20] the name *Kentake* is parenthetically added to the original Eskippakithiki. This name is from the pioneer tradition that the Cherokee name of the site was *Kentake*, a word translated by the settlers as "meadow land."[21] H. Kenny quoting several sources says that the word *Kentucky* is an Iroquoian word and is variously rendered as "head of the river," "prairies," "among the meadows," "big swamp," and "river of blood."[22] The last entry above could easily be in reference to the nearby Red River and the others, in spite of some conflicts, appear to say that Eskippakithiki and Kentucky are expressions of the same thought, "the place where it is green all over." Thus the appellation "Dark and Bloody Ground" appears as an erroneous translation of Kentucky and the regional use of "Bluegrass" appears as a projection of the original descriptive intent. (For further comment on *Kentucky* see the entry of that place name below.)

(2) *Eskalapia* — The use of this Shawnee name in western Lewis County is rather extensive. The topographic map records Eskalapia Mountain and Eskalapia Hollow. The county history adds by tex-

[16] T. Pownall, *Map of the Middle British Colonies in North America*, 1776 and possibly 1775, reprinted in *the Horn Papers*, Vol. II, W. F. Horn, Green County Historical Society, Herald Press, Scottdale, Pa., 1945, p. 784–785.

[17] Estimate given by the Department of Anthropology, University of Kentucky.

[18] C. A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1911, p. 240–242.

[19] A. C. Mahr, private correspondence of 6 Dec. 1958.

[20] Mecham, Munyan and Wesley, op. cit. [21] Becker, op. cit., p. 1.

[22] H. Kenney, *West Virginia Place Names*, Place Names Press, Piedmont, W. Va., 1945, p. 347.

tual and map reference "Esculapia" Springs and "Esculapia" neighborhood.[23] The immediate area in which these names occur lies directly astride the Salt Lick Creek Prong of the Warrior Trail.[24]

Mahr states that *Eskalapia* is a Shawnee word.[25] His etymology of the word indicates that it means, "over and over, long stretch." The location of the Warrior Trail and the nature of the local topography strongly suggest that this name, as used for the area, is "in situ."

(3)(6)(9a) *Tywhapita* (Tyewhoppety -9a) — The first entry is the name of a neighborhood in northwestern Hancock County which is located in the bottom land of Blackford Creek.[26] The second entry, the spelling of which is uncertain, was used in northern Hopkins County for what is now the village of Manitou.[27] The third entry is the name of a community in northern Todd County.[28] This same word, Tywappity Bottoms and Zewapeta, occurs in Missouri.[29] In Hancock County a folk etymology is given, the conclusion of which is as follows: "...the male occupants of the cabin rushed to the spot and found only a log with water slapping against it, making the sound of 'Tywhoppity-tywhoppity-tywhoppity'."[30] Mr. Boone states that the use of this word in Todd County is of uncertain origin but is locally believed to date from the 1890's.[31]

Prof. Mahr has studied this word with regard to its possible derivation from Shawnee stems. He writes as follows: "Unless otherwise documented, the Shawnee treking from across the Ohio River to Kentucky and the West, may have given three or more different locations in Kentucky that name of 'place of no return.' It is im-

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[23] O. C. Ragan, *History of Lewis County, Kentucky*, Jennings and Graham Cincinnati, 1912, p. 25–489.

[24] W. E. Myer, "Indian Trails of the Southeast," *Forty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Smithsonian Institution, 1928, p. 787.

[25] A. C. Mahr, private correspondence of 14 Feb. 1959.

[26] *Community and Neighborhood Map of Hancock County, Kentucky*, Ky. Agri. Exp. Station, Ext. Div., U. of Ky. Lexington, mimeographed, ed. 1941.

[27] Correspondence with B. E. Boone III, editor, Todd County Standard, who obtained this statement from an elderly lady who was born at Tywhapita, Hopkins Co., 1959.

[28] Community and Neighborhood Map of Todd County, 1942.

[29] R. L. Ramsey, *Our Storehouse of Missouri Place Names*, University of Missouri Bulletin, Missouri Handbook no. Two, U. of Missouri, 1952, p. 42–43.

[30] Correspondence with Mrs. Dorsey Thompson, Lewisport, Ky., 12 Dec. 1958.

[31] Boone, op. cit.

material, therefore, whether the English transcription of **TOw/haap/ite* today reads *Tywhapita* or *Tyewhoppety.*"[32]

(4) *Ouasioto* — An uncertain Indian word applied as the name of a gap on the Warrior Trail between Manchester and Station Camp Creek in Jackson County.

Originating in the Carolinas and Georgia the "Athiamiowee" was funneled through Cumberland (Cave) Gap and thus through the extremely rough country of the Cumberland Mountains and Plateau. Ouasioto Gap is, in a minor way, the entrance to easier travel for the traveler from the south. The Evans-Pownall map shows this area as occupied by the Ouasioto Mountains, a name which is no longer used though no satisfactory substitute has replaced it. None of the current maps carry the name of this gap but the name is still known in the vicinity of Gray Hawk and Bradshaw.

The etymology of *Ouasioto* is vague; however a footnote by Johnston says that the word is Shawnee and that it means "Deer Pass."[33] Prof. Mahr states that the word *scioto* is: Iroquoian (Wyandot), probably from the Wyandot och/sk'onto which mean "a deer," and, in the category of trade-and-travel words.[34]

The historical use of the word indicates an intent to perpetuate an Indian place name. The etymological difficulties do not alter its provenience from an Indian place name on the Warrior Trail.

(5) *Paducah* — A city on the south Bank of the Ohio River and the county seat of McCracken County. It is in the area of the Jackson Purchase which was taken over from the Chickasaws in 1818. Wilson records: "Its site was originally a portion of the land granted to Gen. George Rogers Clark [1752–1818], and it was William Clark, a brother of Gen. Clark, and one of the leaders of the famous Lewis and Clark exploring expedition, who founded the settlement. There is a dispute as to the origin of the name, whether from an Indian tribe or its chief, but the personal tendency finally pervailed, and Chief Paduke the head of the tribe carried off the honor."[35]

Some insight is gained in regard to Clark's use of the word "Paduke" in the following excerpt: "Thus, Lewis and Clark, who identi-

[32] Correspondence with A. C. Mahr, 7 Feb. 1959.

[33] J. S. Johnston, *First Explorations in Kentucky,* Filson Club, 1898, p. 122.

[34] A. C. Mahr, "Indian River and Place Names in Ohio," *The Ohio Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 66, no. 2, April 1957, p. 140.

[35] S. M. Wilson, *History of Kentucky,* Vol. II, J. S. Clark Publishing Co., Chicago and Louisville, 1928, p. 620–623.

fied the "Cattar-kah" as the "Paducar" who came to trade at the Arikara[36] villages from the region to the southwest, apparently picked up the original meaning of "Paduca" as Apache, because the "Cataka" were the Kiowa-Apache."[37]

Another approach and challenge to the foregoing is the research of Irvin S. Cobb, a native of Paducah. Using the works of H. B. Cushman, Cobb concluded, "...the name Paducah — and incidentally of the old chief — was derived from a compound word in the Chickasaw tongue meaning 'wild grapes hanging,' or, more properly 'Place where the grapes hang down'."[38]

An examination of Byington[39] reveals that Cobb may have been very close to the etymology of the name. The name that Clark knew from the Missouri Valley and this Chickasaw (Choctaw) word were close in sound and thus possibly joined in spelling. If this assumption is correct Paducah, as with Eskippakithiki, is a corrupted but true Indian place name "in situ."

(7) *Iuka* — A town on the Cumberland River in Livingston County. This was once the name for what is now Tama, Iowa,[40] and is currently the name of towns in Mississippi, Illinois, Missouri and Kansas. In each instance the apparent intent was to perpetuate an Indian name the etymology and original location of which has been lost. In Livingston County the residents believe that this was the name of a refugee band of Chickasaws who camped in their locality.[41]

The prevalence of this place name suggests some substance though it is without evident historical support. Possibly the word means "place by the water." The inclusion of this place name is questionable.

(8) *Kentucky* — This familar name is widely used in Kentucky and adjoining states and has spread as far as Southern Rhodesia and Australia; it is obscure as to original use and etymology. It appears to be of Cherokee origin. This conclusion is well supported when the

[36] Mooney states that they were one of three associated tribes resident along the Missouri River at the time of the Lewis and Clark expedition.

[37] F. R. Secoy, "The Identity of the 'Paduca;' and Ethnohistorical Analysis," *American Anthropologist*, Vo. 53, no. 4, part I, Oct.-Dec., 1951, p. 529.

[38] F. G. Neuman, *The Story of Paducah*, Young Printing Co., Paducah, 1928, p. 18.

[39] C. Byington, *A Dictionary of the Choctaw Language*, ed. Swanton & Halbert, Smithsonian Inst. Bureau of Am. Ethnology, Washington, 1915, p. 308.

[40] ——, *A History of the Origin of the Names in Nine Northwestern States Connected with the C & Nw, C St, PM & O Railroad*, Chicago, 1908, p. 146.

[41] Correspondence with H. Y. Martin, postmaster, Iuka, Ky., 1958.

word is associated with Eskippakithiki cited above. However, the research of a Tennessee historian presents equally interesting possibilities. He writes as follows: "The Emperor of the Cherokees, commonly called by the English 'Old Hop.' . . . various forms, due to the difficulty of reducing to English Cherokee gutterals in Kanegwati have been found by the writer in the records: Cunnicatogue, Concauchto, Connoctte, Connecocartee, Conogotocke, Canackte, referring to 'Canacaught, the great conjurer,'. . ."[42]

A review of the literature circa 1780 would indicate that the name of the land to be settled by the followers of Boone was a matter of point of view and time. Pownall[43] and Hutchins[44] from the English point of view used the name Cuttawa for the land and the river. Other such names included Milley's (Millewakame), Cuttawba, Chenoka, Chenoa and Little Cunaway. By 1784 Filson[45] and the settlers moving from North Carolina and east Tennessee were using some variation of the word Kentucky for the same land and river. The chronicles of the time do not relay the philosophy which caused this change in usage.

Whether "Cuttawa" or "Kentucky," both names appear as inventions of the whites rather than true Indian names. Circumstance caused the strong Cherokee influence to turn the tide in favor of "Kentucky."

(8) *Ohio* — In this instance the word "Ohio" is considered as a river name only.

The French, viewing the river first at its mouth, caused considerable confusion in names. Winsor makes the following statement in this regard, "As to this eastern affluent of the Mississippi, the French had introcuced a confused nomenclature, which needs to be borne in mind in reading the early narratives. What they often called the Ouabache (Wabash) was the present stream of that name, continued in the modern Ohio below their junction."[46]

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[42] H. Timberlake, *The Memoirs of Lieut. Harry Timberlake 1756–1765*, Annotation, Introduction and Index by S. C. Williams, The Watauga Press, Johnson City, Tenn., 1927, footnote p. 39.

[43] Pownall, op. cit.

[44] T. Hutchins, "A new Map of the Western Parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina, London, 1778.

[45] J. Filson, "Map of Kentucke," Philadelphia, 1784.

[46] J. Winsor, *The Mississippi Basin, the Struggle in America Between England and France*, Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, 1895, p. 17.

The river name, as now used, is certainly of Indian origin. Though the Shawnee name was known in a variety of spellings and meanings[47] none ever "caught on." Mahr clearly relates the transmutation of the word into its present form; he writes, "This indicates that the name 'Ohio,' evidently pronounced O/hii/ó at that time, and regardless of its probable origin among the Wyandots, had become a term of interracial travel-and-trade lingo on the all-important waterway during that era of mutual acculturation between Indians and whites, and simply meant 'the Big River' to everyone concerned."[48]

(9b) *Ootan* — The name of a creek which is tributary to Donaldson Creek in northern Caldwell County. This creek is on the evacuation route for southern Indians on their way to the West. This particular names appears only as a fragment of an Indian word. There is however, some memory of Indian words being used as place names in this immediate area. A local resident writes, "A creek north of Princeton was called 'Opicana' by the Indians that returned here to visit the graves of their dead. I have heard this stated by Mrs. Ellen Dixon, now deceased."[49] It must be considered more than coincidence that the Choctaw Dictionary gives "opitama" as a word meaning "passed by." The creek referred to by Mrs. Dixon is not specified to the degree that "opitama" could be related to "ootan." All that can be said is that "ootan" is an unexplained word used as the name of a creek in the immediate area of a past Choctaw (?) use of the word "opitama" to describe a creek in northern Caldwell County.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The pessimism engendered by Speed in regard to finding many Indian place names in the state was well founded. The effort however, did reveal some names that were nearly lost and the status of others was established.

The moment in history alloted to the French and English to enter the bounds of the state was a period of confusion and conflict. Archaelogy indicates that had the colonial period occurred at an earlier date the history and resultant influence on place names would have

[47] J. S. Johnston in *First Explorations in Kentucky* records "Kitono-cepe" and John Johnston in *Indian Tribes* records "Kiskepila Sepe."

[48] A. C. Mahr, op. cit., p. 138.

[49] Correspondence with J. E. Mason, Princeton, Ky., 1958.

been considerable. As it was, the enormous wave of pioneer migrants into a nearly vacant land gave little opportunity for the continuation of Indian place names. Without the bridge of trade and mission activities it is somewhat remarkable that any form of place names of Indian origin has survived.

A partial reason for the survival of the listed names is found when these names are plotted in relation to the Indian Trails of the state (see fig. 1). The "Warrior Trail," the Shawneetown-Russellville trail and the river route of the Ohio were within the bounds of Shawnee influence at the time of white-Indian contact. It is thus the realization of a reasonable expectation that these routes would be dominated by Shawnee words used as place names today.

The area of the Jackson Purchase and as far eastward as the Princeton-Palmyra trail was the northern limit of the Chickasaw territory. This was also the evacuation route for both the Chickasaw and the Choctaw on their way to the West. Thus this general area is the exclusive domain of place names derived from these two languages.

The small measure of Cherokee influence at the time of settlement is amply demonstrated in the paucity of surviving Cherokee place names. Ouasioto is not clearly defined. It could be Wyandot from the north or Cherokee from the south. Other Cherokee names are either lost or have been revived by whites and used for the euphony of the word e. g. Watauga, Chenoa, Wasioto etc., rather than perpetuating Cherokee place names 'per se.'

The Siouan intrusion found in the historic use of "Cuttawa" as a name for the Kentucky River is unexplained.

The absence of place names of Indian origin along the Buffalo Path, the Tennessee River-Ohio-Great Lakes trail, the Scioto Prong, the Falls of the Ohio at Louisville and the Big Sandy trail demonstrates how slender a chance it was for any name to survive. Such prominent locations in Indian and pioneer times as Big Bone Lick and Blue Licks are not recorded in regard to their Indian names.

The fact is, that in an absolute sense, there are no Indian place names in the state. There is only the hazy memory that there were a few names existent at the advent of white settlement, a mixture of isolated ephemeral adjectives and adjectival phrases.

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Names of Germanic Origin in Latin and Romance Sources in the Study of Germanic Phonology

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Since Friedrich Kluge's *Vorgeschichte der altgermanischen Dialekte* (1891) it has been the custom for Germanic scholars to cite Germanic names in Latin sources in dealing with the absolute chronology of sound changes in Germanic and in differentiating between Common Germanic and Proto-Germanic sound changes. Since the work of E. Mackel, W. Bruckner, F. Wrede, and W. Meyer-Lübke in the last few decades of the previous century, Germanic names in the Romance languages and in Vulgar Latin have formed the principal source for the study of the pronunciation and grammar of the East Germanic languages (with the exception of Wulfilian Gothic), such as Gothic, Vandalic, and Burgundian, all of which have no modern descendants and no written documents of any extent. Since these names are so widely cited and their evidence is taken so seriously by scholars,[1] it seems proper that they be investigated from the point of view of onomastic method, since most of the early writers operated with an implicit methodology which is often difficult for the present-day investigator to grasp,

[1] Cf. E. Gamillscheg, *Romania Germanica*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1934–36); Fr. Kluge, *Pauls Grundriss*, Vol. I (Strassburg, 1891), 316 ff., 356ff.; A. Noreen, *Abriss der urgermanischen Lautlehre* (Strassburg, 1894), 14ff., passim; W. Streitberg, *Urgermanische Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1896), § 55, passim; E. Schwarz, *Goten, Nordgermanen, Angelsachsen* (Bern, 1951), 48ff.; O. Höfler, "Stammbaumtheorie, Wellentheorie, Entfaltungstheorie," *PBB* (Tübingen) LXXVII (1956), 30–66, 78–130; LXXVIII (1957) 1–44; idem, *Die zweite Lautverschiebung bei Ostgermanen und Goten* (Tübingen, 1958). Höfler's work is based almost entirely on onomastic sources. A more sober view of onomastic evidence is taken by Fr. van Coetsem, *Das System der starken Verba und die Periodisierung im älteren Germanischen* (Amsterdam, 1956), though he makes rich use of such material.

and especially since onomastic science has made such great advances since the turn of the century.

In attempting to use onomastic sources in the study of pronunciation, the investigator must constantly keep the following points in mind: 1. The sound system of the two languges in question; the situation may be such that a particular phoneme in one language may have the range of two phonemes in the other language, so that it may be rendered now by the one, now by the other phoneme. 2. The possibilities of sound substitution; an unfamiliar sound or sound sequence may be replaced by a familiar one. 3. The transmission of the name; if we do not have the name in the form given to it by the person originally reporting it, but only in later sources, we must determine what the influence of the later source is. 4. The informant from whom the name was originally gotten; is the information first-hand, or has it gone through another language or dialect, where it may have been distorted? 5. The orthographic practices of the scribes reporting the name; a seeming alternation may actually be merely graphic in nature. 6. The treatment of names from other languages; if the treatment of Germanic names, for example, is assumed to reveal a sound change, we must check names from other sources; if they have undergone the same change, it is probably not Germanic. 7. The tradition of handling foreign names and words; is there a fixed tradition which may have influenced the transmission of the words? If these questions are not continually asked, the investigator runs the risk of vitiating a fine piece of collecting work by using unsound methodology. The following discussion is meant to point out some particularly glaring errors in previous work, caused by the lack of observance of proper onomastic method. The material is arranged according to points of pronunciation.

1. *Proto-Germanic Umlaut.* It is widely assumed by Germanic scholars that, sometime during the Proto-Germanic period, PIE **e* became umlauted through the influence of a following *i*-sound, and perhaps also **u*, the resulting sound being Proto-Germanic **i*.[2] Several scholars, however, beginning with F. Kluge, have pointed out that the evidence of Germanic names in Latin sources contradicts the assumption of a Proto-Germanic umlaut of **e* to **i*, since several names, such as *Segimerus*, *Segimundus*, *Herminones*, *Gepides*,

[2] For a discussion of views and bibliography see my article: "Germanic **i* and **e* – Two Phonemes or One?" *Language* XXXIII (1957), 346–354.

which are attested in the first and second century A. D., still show *e* before *i*.[3] It is thus assumed by such scholars that the umlaut of **e* to **i* is Common Germanic, not Proto-Germanic. Indeed, this assumption of the late date of the sound change is the cornerstone for the new theories of umlaut in Germanic presented by O. Höfler and Fr. van Coetsem.[4] In order to uphold the usual theory of Proto-Germanic umlaut, scholars have offered several assumptions to account for the *e* in these Latin sources. H. Collitz assumed Celtic influence, which he assumed also to cause the hesitation observed in Latin MSS between *e* and *i* since this hesitation is particularly frequent in the Latin of France.[5] Several scholars assumed that the Germanic **i* had a wide range of actualizations, so that Latin speakers could hear it now as *i* now as *e*.[6] The problem has been, it seems to me, posed in the wrong way. Until the Latin transmission of the name and Latin scribal practices have been thoroughly explored, we should not try to offer an explanation. The forms with Σεγι- often cited from Strabo do not exist, but are conjecture of the editors, based naturally on Tacitus.[7] The *Segi-* of Cass. Dio (LVI 19, 2) is probably based on Tacitus. Thus the only real source of *Segi-* is Tacitus (Ann. I, 71), who was writing in the latter half of the first century A. D. But Velleius Paterculus (II, 118,2), writing before the middle of the first century has *Sigimerus*. The question is then naturally: which of the two is the more trustworthy? There can be no doubt as to this; in spite of the esteem in which Tacitus is generally held by Germanic scholars, it must be Velleius. Tacitus was probably never in Germany, but Velleius was not only in Germany, he was personally acquainted with Arminius, and had ample opportunity to hear the names of Cheruscian princes at first-hand.[8]

[3] Kluge, op. cit., 356ff.; O. Bremer, *ZfdPh* XXII (1890), 251ff.; E. Schwarz, op. cit., 51ff.; Noreen, op. cit., p. 15; D. B. Shumway, "IE *i* and *e* in Germanic," *Modern Philology* III (1906), 385–394.

[4] Höfler, "Entfaltungstheorie," 89ff.; van Coetsem, op. cit., 32ff. It is necessary for both scholars to assume that umlaut took place in the separate languages, not in Proto-Germanic, cf. my review of van Coetsem soon to appear in *Language*.

[5] H. Collitz, "*Segimer* oder: Germanische Namen in keltischem Gewande," *JEGPh* VI (1906–7), 253–306.

[6] R. C. Boer, *Oergermaansch Handboek*, 2nd ed. (Haarlem, 1924), § 40, Anm. 1; M. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* (Heidelberg, 1911), XVIIIf.

[7] Cf. Schönfeld, op. cit., 204ff.

[8] Cf. Collitz, op. cit., 254f.; E. Schwarz, *Germanische Stammeskunde* (Heidelberg, 1956), p. 10.

What might account for the *e* in Tacitus? From the beginning of our era, we hear of a confusion of *e* and *i* in Latin noted by Quintilian and Varro.[9] We can also observe an interchange of *e* and *i* on inscriptions and occasionally in manuscripts.[10] Since both Quintilian and Varro consider the pronunciation of *e* for *i* to be "rustic", we must assume that it was found among the common folk, especially of the outlying territories, those who would be likely to be fighting the Germans. If Tacitus' informant was a "rustic," as he might well have been, it would be natural to expect an *e* for an *i* in his speech. All this is speculation, however; in order to prove that this assumption is approximately correct, we must ask what was the Latin treatment of names from other sources. In Greek names borrowed during this period and later, we find *e* for *iota* quite frequently, especially in popular borrowings.[11] Since there is no evidence in Greek for an change of *i* to *e*, we must assume that the rendering of *iota* by *e* is based on the situation of *i* and *e* (i. e. ĭ and ē etymologically) Latin, which, as is known, often fell together in Vulgar Latin. As to *Gepides*, this name is attested only in sources from around 300 A. D., first with the form *Gipedae*, so that it does not come into question. In view of all these facts, the evidence of Latin for the late date of the Germanic umlaut of **e* to **i* is invalid. This is demonstrated by an investigation of the transmission of the names, the phonological and graphic situation of *i*/*e* in Latin, and the manner of handling names and words from other languages.

2. *Germanic e + ŋ + guttural > i + ŋ + guttural.* It is almost universally assumed that the latin reflexes of Germanic **eŋg* (i. g. *ing*) afford us a terminus ante quem for the change of **eŋg* > **iŋg*,[12] and that this change is Common Germanic rather than Proto-Ger-

[9] Cited by E. Seelmann, *Die Aussprache des Latein* (Heilbronn, 1885), 166.

[10] Cf. Seelmann, op. cit., p. 202; W. Lindsay, *Die lateinische Sprache* (Leipzig, 1897), 263; Fr. Stolz, *Historische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache* (Berlin, 1894), 137. In the *Appendix Probi* (Keil IV, 199, 10) we read: *Sirena non Serena* and (198, 5) *senatus non sinatus*, which attests to the confusion of *e* and *i*. The confusion in Vulgar Latin manuscripts is too well known to need confirmation, but see below.

[11] Cf. Th. Claussen, "Die griechischen Wörter im Französischen," *Romanische Forschungen* XV (1904), 855–857.

[12] K. Helm, "Die Chronologie des Überganges von germ. *e* zu *i* vor *ŋ + k g χ*," *PBB* XXIII (1898), 555–58; Höfler, "Entfaltungstheorie," pp. 78ff.; E. Schwarz, *Goten, Nordgermanen, Angelsachsen*, p. 52.

manic. Names such as *Inguaeones*, *Mars Thingsus*, *Tulingi* (Caesar), etc. are supposed to show that the change of **eŋg* > **iŋg* was already accomplished by the middle of the first century B. C., while Finnish *rengas* (< Gmc. **hreŋgaz*) is supposed to have been borrowed before the change. In both cases, however, we probably have to do with sound substitution. In Latin, the well known sound change of *eŋ* to *iŋ* removed *eŋ* from the sound system, so that a Germanic **eŋ* would naturally be pronounced *iŋ* and spelled *in* + guttural. In Finnish, both *-engas* and *-ingas* are possible, but *-eng-* could well represent sound substitution for *-ing-*, as is shown by the modern Finnish loan word *renki* "bucket" borrowed in modern times (cf. the ending) from Norwegian dialectal *ring* "milk-pail."[13]

Although it is my personal opinion that **eŋg* became **iŋg* in Proto-Germanic, it must be pointed out that, because of the comparison of the two systems, i. e. the lack of *eng* in Latin, the Latin evidence is worthless. The Finnish evidence for the late preservation of **eŋg* is likewise invalid, since we have a modern loan with *-eng-* from a word with *-ing-*.

3. *The loss of Germanic ŋ before velar spirant.* It is almost universally assumed that Germanic **aŋχ* became, at least in most dialects, **āχ*. The time of this change in the various Germanic languages is disputed, especially since we have the evidence of the "Oldest Norse Grammarian" for the retention of the nasal in 12th century Norse.[14] It is usually assumed that the name *Hanhavaldus* (CIL XIII, 3682) shows that Burgundian still had *aŋχ* in the 5th/6th century.[15] First, we must point out that it is improper to cite hapax legomena as evidence of pronunciation in dealing with onomastic sources; we all know how personal names may get distorted in

[13] H. Fromm, "Die ältesten germanischen Lehnwörter im Finnischen," *ZfdA* LXXXVIII (1957), p. 95.

[14] The evidence offered by the "Oldest Norse Grammarian" is disputed; for a history of the problem and a translation, see Einar Haugen, "The Oldest Norse Grammarian," *Language Monograph No. 25* (Baltimore, 1950).

[15] Schwarz, *Goten, Nordgermanen, Angelsachsen*, p. 54; R. Much, *ZfdA* XXXV (1892), 363; H. Hirt, *Handbuch des Urgermanischen*, Vol. I (Heidelberg, 1931), 111f.; E. Schröder, "Nasalschwund vor þ außerhalb des Sächsischen," *ZfdA* LX (1923), 198f.; Höfler, "Entfaltungstheorie," p. 47, footnote 4. Finnish *hanho* "drinking vessel," which was often cited in this question, was demonstrated by Bj. Collinder, *Die urgermanischen Lehnwörter im Finnischen*, Part I (Uppsala, 1932), p. 72, to be not a Germanic loan, but an internal Finnish development. Cf. also Fromm, op. cit., p. 85.

borrowing. Secondly, we should not be at all surprised to find *Hanhavaldus* for Burgundian **Hāha-* in Latin, since the writing of *Vn* for *V* before spirants (i. e. *s*) is a common feature of Late and Vulgar Latin.[16] Thus, the evidence of *Hanhavaldus* for the retention of *aŋχ* in Burgundian is shown to be invalid by an investigation of scribal practices in Latin, which, of course, may ultimately go back to a sound change in Latin.

4. *The retention of PIE o in unaccented syllables in Germanic.* It is generally assumed that PIE **o* became Proto-Germanic **a* with the exception that, in unaccented syllables, *o* was retained until ca. 300 A. D.,[17] so that the change of *-o- to *-a- is a common Germanic change. The basis of this assumption is the Latin evidence, Germanic names such as *Chariovalda*, *Inguiomerus*, *Langobardi*, *Gundomadus*, *Chonodomarius*, *Hariobaudus*, *Vadomarius*, *Mallobaudes*, etc., where **o* is changed to **a* in accented syllables, but is rendered by *o* in unaccented syllables. O. Bremer, however, has shown that IE**o* was only retained in unaccented syllables in Gmc. words in three cases: the ending *-os* in Greek, the ending *-ones* in Latin, and the thematic vowel.[18] In other cases in unaccented position, however, we find *a*: *Adrana* (Tacitus, Ann. 1, 56), *Arbalo* (Pliny 11, 55), *Marsaci* (Tacitus, Hist. 4, 56), *Gannascus* (Tacitus, Ann. 11, 18. 99), *Gavadiae*, *Idisiaviso* (Tacitus, Ann. 2, 16), *Abiaman*, *Alateiviae*, *Arvagastiae*, *Halamardus*, etc. Thus the rule that unaccented *-o-* is retained is incorrect. K. Eulenburg, noting that all the cases of *-o-* for *-a-* occur before labial, wants to make the labial a condition for its retention, pointing to the fact that West and North Germanic seem to have reflexes of a Germanic *-om-* dative instead of the **-am-* dative presupposed by Gothic.[19] This cannot be true, since we find such names as *Abiaman*, *Halamardus*, *Idisiaviso* with *-a-* before

[16] Fr. Stolz-A. Debrunner, *Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache* (Berlin, 1953), p. 104, mention *occansione, herens, Inside, thēnsaurus*; a large number are mentioned by W. Corssen, *Aussprache, Vokalismus und Betonung der lateinischen Sprache*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1868), 255ff. Cf. also Fritz Werner, *Die Latinität der Getica des Jordanis* (Halle, 1908), 18.; where examples from the Jordanes manuscripts are cited. The *Appendix Probi* has an orthoepic statement against *occansio* for *occasio*.

[17] Kluge, op. cit., 316f.; Noreen, op. cit., p. 17 Anm. 2; Streitberg, op. cit., p. 46; O. Bremer, "Urgermanisches *a* in unbetonter Silbe, *IF* XIV (1903), 363–367; Schwarz, *Goten, Nordgermanen, Angelsachsen*, 49ff.

[18] Bremer, loc. cit.

[19] K. Eulenburg, *IF* XVI (1904), p. 37; Boer, op. cit., § 71.

labials, as well as such names as *Austrogoti*, *Gomoarius*, *Odoleus*, *Theodoricus*, *Vitrodorus* with *-o-* not before a labial. Since we find Gothic names about 300 A. D. with medial *-a-*, such as *Alaricus*, Noreen has assumed that this change of **-o-* to **-a-* took place in Gothic about that time, in the West Germanic languages even later.[20] In the earliest North Germanic inscriptions we find already *-a-*, as in *AljamarkiR* (Kårstad, 3rd century). Bremer has certainly shown that the rule "IE unaccented *-o-* remained in Germanic, whereas accented *o* became *a*" is incorrect; Eulenburg's reservation for *-o-* will not bear up under close scrutiny. How can we account for the Latin hesitation between *-o-* and *-a-* in these Germanic names? The Romans always had difficulty with the unaccented *a* and *o* of foreign words, especially Greek words, since Latin compound words usually had *-i-* rather than *-o-* as a thematic.[21] After the use of Greek names became common, it was the custom to use the medial *-o-* in Latin, even in names which had no *-o-* in Greek, such as *Tolomaeus* (< Πτολεμαῖος), and in Latin names such as *Ahenobarbus*. Also, the first authors in which we find such Germanic names are Greek;[22] the Romans already had the custom of writing *-o-* as the thematic in Greek names and in Celtic names, and the Germanic names, which contained a vowel in an unfamiliar position were simply placed in the mold of tradition. That this is true is seen by the number of times *-o-*, *-io-* are written falsely, as in *Langiobardi*, *Graotingi*, *Gundobadus*, *Aioulfus*, *Augoflada*, *Baioarii*, etc. It is also to be noted that many of the Germanic names, such as *Ambiomarcae*, *Belsoaldus*, have Celtic first components, and have certainly undergone Celtic influence. The names with *-o-*, *-io-* are found for the most part in works of historians, whereas the inscriptions definetely prefer *-a-*, *-ia-*, when the first component is not Celtic. Thus, the assumption of a retention of unaccented *-o-*, based on onomastic sources, is shown to be invalid by: 1. citing contrary evidence; 2. bringing in the Latin traditions of writing foreign names; 3. showing how this tradition has been applied also in names

[20] Noreen, loc. cit.

[21] Claussen, op. cit., pp. 802 ff., especially 806 ff.

[22] With the exception perhaps of Caesar, where Celtic influence is obvious. Since Strabo was used so often in later works as a source, it is natural to assume that his Greek manner of writing, with *-o-* as the thematic vowel in compounds, would have a great deal of influence.

which could not have had **-o-* in Germanic; 4. pointing out known cases of Celtic and Greek transmission of names.

5. *Germanic *ei > *ī.* It is generally assumed that, sometime in the Proto-Germanic period, **ei > *ī*. Many scholars think, however, that the existence of *ei* in a Latin inscription of uncertain date (CIR 197), containing the name *Alateiviae* (Dat. Sg.), on the Negau helmet (*teiva*), and in the name of the Carelian rye-god (*Runkoteivas*, *Rukotiivo*, *Runkateira*, *Runkoteera*, *Runka tei vai*, *Runkat ei vaan*, *Runkas ei vaan*, *Rukitahvana*, *Rukitehvana*)[23] speaks unequivocally for a retention of **ei* past the Proto-Germanic period.[24] It has been assumed by A. Holder that the name *Alateivia* is Celtic in origin and has nothing to do with the Germanic tribes.[25] If it is Germanic, as most seem to think, the existence of *ei* here would not offer evidence for the retention of **ei* into Common Germanic times, since *ei* is merely a common Latin spelling for *ī*, as we know from inscriptions and manuscripts as well as from orthoepic and grammarians' statements.[26] As for *Runkoteivas*, the transmission of the name wavers, as can be seen. Whatever the tradition, however, this word cannot be cited for the existence of **ei* in late Proto-Germanic, since *-teiva* is a loan-word from Baltic and not from Germanic, as numerous scholars have shown.[27] As for the evidence of the helmet of Negau: it is of unknown date and provenience, written in an alphabet of a North Italic type, but not yet localized. If we accept the common dating on external grounds it comes from about the turn of the 1st century, that is, the time when Latin influence was being more and more felt in the North Italic alphabets. If we assume Latin influence, as is probable, the *ei* for *ī* is perfectly normal. Even if we do not assume Latin influence, the use of *ei* for *ī* in a Greek/Etruscan

[23] All these forms are cited by K. B. Wiklund, *IF* XXXVIII (1917), 95f.

[24] Schwarz, op. cit., p. 55; Hirt, op. cit., 38f.; K. Reichardt, *Language* XXIX (1953), p. 307; van Coetsem, op. cit., p. 18. The names cited in support of the theory of the retention of **ei* by S. Gutenbrunner, *Die germanischen Götternamen der antiken Inschriften* (Halle, 1936), p. 14 (*Freioverus*, *Freio*, *Freiatte*, beside *Friatto*, *Friattius*) are all of Celtic origin; cf. Schönfeld, op. cit., p. 93.

[25] Cf. A. Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*, cited by Schönfeld, op. cit., p. 11. R. Much, *Wörter und Sachen* VI, 219, thinks that Holder has a tendency to call Germanic names Celtic and that he went too far in many cases.

[26] Cf. Stolz-Debrunner, pp. 71, 87, 89, 101; van Coetsem, op. cit., p. 18; Hirt, op. cit., p. 39; Corssen, op. cit., 330ff.

[27] H. Fromm, op. cit., 85f.; Chr. Stang, *Die Welt der Slaven* I, 136ff.; P. Skardzius, *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* XXVI (1958), 375–382.

derived alphabet has nothing incongruous about it. The Messapic alphabet (though not North Italic) which is derived from Greek has *ei* for *ī*, as is seen by the existence of *deiva*, *diva* side by side.[28]

It has been shown in this section that the Latin, Finnish, and inscriptional evidence is untenable in discussing **ei* in Proto-Germanic. This was demonstrated by considering the scribal tradition in Latin inscriptions, by pointing out that the Carelian word in question is not Germanic in origin, and by pointing out the tenuous nature of the evidence offered by a hapax legomenon on an inscription on a movable object of unknown date and provenience, and by pointing out the possibility that *ei* here is written for *ī*,

6. *What is the value of early onomastic sources in the study of Germanic?* One may well ask after so many negative criticisms on my part if I think there is any thing of value to be found in the study of Germanic names in Latin sources. As is almost always the case, a careful scrutiny of the names, with regard for proper onomastic method,will yield some results. Thus, for example, the inscriptions containing the matron-names *Vatvims* (CIL XIII, 7892; 8510) and *Aflims* (CIL XIII, 8157) offer us welcome evidence for the fact that the dative plural in West Germanic still preserved the *-s/-z* of Proto-Germanic,[29] since no explanation from Latin or Celtic could account for the *-ims* ending. Words such as *Chariovalda* (Tacitus, Ann. II, 11), *Nasua* (Caesar, I, 37, 7) offer evidence that *-a* existed also in West Germanic beside **-ō* as the Nom. Masc. *n*-stem ending, since Germanic **-ō*, corresponding as it does to a common Latin ending, would have been rendered by an *-o*.[30] These two points illustrate the kind of morphological and (marginally) phonological evidence which can be abstracted from the Germanic names in Latin sources if the evidence is sifted carefully. Of course, these are of great value for the history of Germanic names, often providing us with insights into Germanic name-giving and, mutatis mutandis, Germanic life which we could not have gotten otherwise.

[28] Cf. J. Whatmough, *The Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy*, Vol. II (London, 1933), p. 596 and Nos. 484, 459, 460; p. 619.

[29] J. Kern, "Germaansche Woorden in Latijnsche Opschriften aan den Beneden-Rihn," *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde, 2de reeks, 2de deel (Amsterdam, 1872), 334ff.; R. Much, ZfdPh XXXI (1899), 357; XXXV (1903) 316; Streitberg, op. cit., § 172.

[30] Cf. H. van Helten, *PBB* XXVIII (1902) 512, footnote 2 and XXIX (1903) 344ff.

East Germanic Names in Romance Sources

Ever since F. Dietrich first introduced Gothic names in Romance into the study of Gothic pronunciation in 1862, these names have been used by scholars in determining the pronunciation of Late Gothic.[31] The most ambitious of these attempts was that of F. Wrede, who not only used these names to write a phonetic description of "Ostrogothic" phonemes, but also used this description to determine the pronunciation of Wulfilian Gothic.[32] Wrede's attempt to write such a description of "Ostrogothic" failed because of his collection method, and because he failed to take Vulgar Latin scribal practices into consideration.[33] Nevertheless, though no one would take Wrede's conclusions seriously today, his method is still followed. This much should be evident: 1. no one should make definite statements about what can and cannot occur until the material has been exhausted; 2. all the considerations mentioned above must be kept in mind in interpreting the data after collection.

7. *Umlaut in Gothic?* Various scholars have expressed the opinion that Wulfilian Gothic could have had phonetic umlaut, without the spelling having indicated this.[34] E. Gamillscheg and, following him, O. Höfler have expressed the opinion that Gothic names and loans in the Romance languages demonstrate the existence of umlaut in Gothic, which was, according to Höfler, phonemic. [35] The following evidence is cited by these two scholars:

[31] F. Dietrich, *Über die Aussprache des Gotischen* (Marburg, 1862); W. Bruckner, *Charakteristik der germanischen Elemente im Italienischen* (Strassburg, 1899); E. Mackel, *Die germanischen Elemente in der französischen Sprache* (Strassburg, 1884); F. Wrede, "Die Sprache der Ostgoten in Italien," *Quellen und Forschungen* LXVIII (Strassburg, 1891); E. Gamillscheg, "Romania Germanica," *Pauls Grundriss*, 3d ed., Vol. XI, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1934–36); Höfler, "Entfaltungstheorie."

[32] Cf. F. Wrede, *Stamm-Heyne's Ulfilas*, 11th ed. (Paderborn, 1908), 286–315; for others who have cited such evidence, see M. H. Jellinek, *Geschichte der gotischen Sprache* (Berlin, 1926), p. 30; W. Streitberg, *Gotisches Elementarbuch*, 3rd and 4th ed. (Heidelberg, 1910), p. 53f.

[33] Cf. Streitberg, op. cit., pp. 54, 55, 61, § 16.3, Anm. 1; Fr. Kauffmann, *ZfdPh* XXXI (1899) 92ff. On the inadequacy of Wrede's collecting, see especially R. Kögel, *AfdA* XVIII (1892) 43ff., 313ff.

[34] On this possibility see J. Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik* 2nd ed., Vol. I, p. 42; 3rd ed., Vol. I, p. 75; Höfler, "Entfaltungstheorie," p. 49, footnote 1.

[35] Gamillscheg, op. cit., pp. 14, 24, 33ff.; Höfler, "Entfaltungstheorie," (1958) p. 35ff. Höfler's statement (p. 36) that there was a phonemic distinction between the umlauted and non-umlauted vowels is based on a misunderstanding of phonemic

1. Gothic accented *-o-* is rendered in Romance by *-o̩-* (i. e. close *o*). When it appears before *-j-*, however, it is rendered by *-u̩-* (i. e. close *u*). Only one word, Vulgar Latin *rutiare*, Tuscan *ruciare*, Italian *sgarucciare* (<Goth. **wrotjan*) "to root of pigs)", can be cited in proof of this sound-law, and Gamillscheg himself points out that this makes it uncertain.[36]

2. Gothic accented *-i-* is usually rendered in Romance by *-e-*. In certain words, however, it appears as *-i-*: words compounded with *wilja-*, such as *Guilhafonse*; words compounded with *giba-*, such as *Gibila*, *Gipelinus*, *Gibaleaux*; in the loan words *grimms*, *grimmjan*, *grimmiþa*; in the loan word *þriskan* in Spanish and Portuguese but not in Italian; *skilla* in Italian and South French dialects. Only these few words are cited by Gamillscheg in support of his sound law. He explains *wilja* and *grimmjan* as the result of *-j-* umlaut; the *i* of *grimmjan*, he thinks, must have influenced the other forms of this stem. In the case of *giba* and *þriskan*, the surrounding consonants may have caused the retention of *-i-* after borrowing into Romance, as also in the case of *skilla*, where the palatal *k*, *g* may have caused the "change" of *-e-* to *-i-*. Only the *-j-* umlaut is Gothic according to him.

3. Gothic accented *-u-* is usually replaced in Romance by *-o̩-* (i. e. close *o*). That is, just as in Romance, Gothic **-ō-* and **-ū̆-* fall together upon being borrowed. In some words, however, we find not *-o̩-* but *-u̩-* for Gothic *-u-*: *kruski*, *þruk*, *ufjo* everywhere; *brusti*, *brustja* and *buggja*, except in Southern France. The loan word *mudw-* has *-o̩-* in the West, *-u-* in Italian. Gamillscheg and Höfler explain these forms as due to *-j-* umlaut or to related forms with *-j-* umlaut. In the case of *mudw-* Gamillscheg thinks of *w*-umlaut.

First, it must be pointed out that a phonetic law based on only six forms (the number containing *-j-*) is rather a doubtful one. Gamillscheg's method of collection leaves much to be desired, and he has not by any means exhausted the material.[37] Moreover his materials

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theory. Since the umlauted vowels appeared, according to his theory, only before *-j-* of the next syllable, and the non-umlauted vowels never appeared in that position, they were in complementary distribution and were members of the same phoneme.

[36] Op. cit., p. 33, footnote 1.

[37] Cf. J. Jud, *Vox Romania* II, 1ff.; G. Rohlfs, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* CLXXI, 88ff.; W. von Wartburg, *ZrP* LIX, 302ff.

are gathered from every period in the history of the languages in question, without regard to the scribal peculiarities or the dialects involved. Gamillscheg and Höfler fail to note contrary evidence in their own materials: **ingrimjis*, for example, yields Portuguese *ingreme* "terrible," thus contradicting the assumption of a uniform **grim-* base for **grimmjan*, etc. *Geba-* occurs alongside of *Giba-* (cf. *Geberic* [Cassiodor IV, 20],*Gebamundus* [Chronica Minora II, 1, p. 198]), so that Gamillscheg's statement that *Giba-* is universal is incorrect. Thus, the hesitation between *e* and *i*, *o* and *u* can be merely a result of the common scribal hesitation in Vulgar Latin and later.[38]

In addition to these considerations, which lessen our opinion of Gamillscheg's trustworthiness, since we know he did not consult many Romance name collections, there is another of a more serious nature: he failed to assure himself that the "change" in question did not also take place in Romance. In Ibero-Romance Latin *-ŭ-* and Latin *-ō-* fall together in the *-ọ-* phoneme. This phoneme has two main allophones: [ọ] and [ụ], the latter occurring before consonant + *j* and *k*-clusters.[39] Vulgar Latin *-e-* (< **ē*, *i*) becomes in Spanish and Portuguese *-i-* before consonant + *j* and *k*-clusters.[40] Thus the *-ụ-* for Gothic **-ō-*, **-u-* (i. e. Romance /-ọ-/) before consonant + *j* and before *k*-clusters, and the *-i-* for Gothic **ĭ* (i. e. Romance /-I-/ in the same position represent the normal Romance development of these phonemes, and have nothing to do with the phonetics of Gothic.

8. *A "second sound-shift" in Gothic?* Gothic names in Romance sources have been used by three scholars to demonstrate the existence of a sound-shift of voiced stops (?) to voiceless stops in Late Gothic.[41] By far the most ambitious of these attempts is that of

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[38] Cf. above. For a statistical survey of the scribal alternation between *e* and *i*, *o* and *u*, see Frieda N. Politzer and Robert L. Politzer, *Romance Trends in 7th and 8th Century Latin Documents, University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures* XXI (Chapel Hill, 1953).

[39] Cf. H. Lausberg, *Romanische Sprachwissenschaft*, Vol. I (Berlin, 1956), p. 124f.

[40] Lausberg, op. cit., p. 125.

[41] F. Dietrich, op. cit., p. 81ff.; Theodor Steche, "Zeit und Ursache der hochdeutschen Lautverschiebung," *ZfdPh* LXII (1937), 1–56; O. Höfler, "Die hochdeutsche Lautverschiebung und ihre Gegenstücke bei Goten, Vandalen, Langobarden und Burgundern," *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Klasse (1957), 294–318; idem, *Die zweite Lauverschiebung bei Ostgermanen und Westgermanen* (Sonderabdruck aus *PBB* [Tübingen], 1958).

O. Höfler, who has written an entire book on the subject, so that it is primarily at Höfler's attempt that our remarks must be directed. Höfler assumes that the fact that Gothic *b d g* are occasionally rendered in Romance names by *p t k* entitles us to the assumption that *b d g* had shifted in Gothic to *p t k*, "not to pure tenuis, not to speak of a tenuis aspirata, but, comparable to OHG, rather to a voiceless semi-fortis, perhaps in part only to a voiceless media."[42] In other words, Höfler is attempting to read a detailed phonetic description out of the treatment of foreign names, a daring procedure, to say the least, and one which would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for any present-day situation known to me.

Several points unite to vitiate the fine collecting work which Höfler has done: 1. The argumentation is based solely on onomastic sources, without regard to the evidence of other loans; 2. he fails to take the time and place of the borrowing or reporting into consideration; 3. he fails to concern himself with the orthographic practices of the reporting scribes; 4. he neglects the time and place of the borrowing or reporting and the phonemic structures in question.

His assumption of a Gothic sound shift is based, as mentioned, on the following evidence: Gothic *b d g* are often rendered in names borrowed in Spain, Southern France, and Northern Italy as *p t k*, though only sporadically. He points out that there is nothing in the history of Spanish, Portuguese, French, or Italian which might account for this occasional writing of *p t k* for *b d g*, and that, therefore, the orthographic hesitation must indicate something about the phonetics of Gothic. But it is not proper to concern ourselves with the history of these languages in the matter of Gothic loans, since these loans and names were transferred to Romance during the Vulgar Latin (Proto-Western Romance?) stage. In other words, the question has been wrongly posed, and we should rather ask: Is there anything in the structure or writing system of Vulgar Latin (respectively, Proto-Western Romance) which might account for the occasional writing of *p t k* for *b d g*. First, let us look at the system of the Western Romance consonants concerned:

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[42] "... kaum bis zur Tenuis pura, geschweige denn bis zu einer Tenuis aspirata ..., sondern – vergleichbar dem Althochdeutschen – eher zu einer stimmlosen Semifortis, vielleicht z. T. nur einer stimmlosen Media." (op. cit., p. 8).

	Post-consonantally and after pause	Post-vocalically[43]
I.	p t k	b d g
II.	b d g	,

and compare it with the Gothic system:

p t k	p t k
b d g	b d g.[44]

Gothic intervocalic *b d g* are naturally associated with Row I of the above Western Romance system, Gothic *p t k* falling together for the most part with the products of medial *-pp-*, *-tt-*, *-kk-* of Latin.[45] In the writing system of Vulgar Latin, the sounds of Row I above are written interchangeably as *p t k* or *b d g*, that is, we find *b d g* written for Latin *p t k*, but also *p t k* written for Latin *b d g*.[46] In other words, we find the same treatment of Latin and Gothic *b d g*; if we consider the treatment of Gothic names to offer evidence of a sound-shift, then the Latin words offer evidence of a sound-shift in Latin, which is absurd. Indeed, if we look at Greek names and words borrowed during the Vulgar Latin period, we find that Greek . . . are often rendered as *p t k* in Romance.[47] Höfler, perceiving the possibility of a like argument, pointed out that, since *p t k* in Germanic words never becomes *b d g* in Romance, we cannot explain the occasional *p t k* for *b d g* as due to a reaction (he probably means hypercorrection) against the Western Romance lenition. Whether this criterion is applicable or not, we have numerous loans and also names in Romance which show *b d g* for Germanic *p t k*, such as Spanish bri*d*a, embaja*d*a, estri*b*o, graba, Ja*b*ón, fisgar, grupo, gro-, sella, etc.,Old Portuguese names: Asgarigus, Ardega, Visterga, Goldrogo*d*o, Sesgu*d*us, etc.

[43] That is, not only in post-vocalic position within the word, but also in the sentence, cf. Lausberg, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 98ff For a demonstration of the necessity for the assumption of such a system in Western Romance, see H. Weinrich, *Phonologische Studien zur romanischen Sprachgeschichte* (Münster, 1958), 43–144.

[44] Since Gothic *b*, *d*, *g* are often rendered in Greek and Latin sources by geminates, it seems likely that they were stops also in medial position, cf. J. Frank "Germanisches *b d g*," *ZfdA* LIV (1913) 1–23.

[45] Cf. Gamillscheg, op. cit., p. 48f.

[46] C. H. Grandgent, *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin* (Boston, 1907), 108f. For a fuller citation of sources and an extensive list, see my review of Höfler's book, to appear soon in *Indogermanische Forschungen.*

[47] Cf. Claussen, op. cit., pp. 833ff., for an extensive list.

The assumption of a "second sound-shift" has then been demonstrated to be unfounded on the basis of the fact that: 1. Romance words show the same development; 2. Greek words are treated in the same manner as the Germanic names; 3. the scribes constantly confuse *b d g* and *p t k* in writing and presumably also in speaking in some positions.

9. *The value of onomastic sources in the study of East Germanic.* Again I hope I have not sounded overly negative in my approach to the problem of using onomastic sources in the study of East Germanic. What we must recognize are the limitations placed upon our interpretations by the nature of the material at hand. At best, using names to determine the pronunciation (phonetics) of a language is a hazardous business; at worst, as in the case of most of the name-material dealt with in this paper, it is hopeless. A study of the scribal practices and language of each scribe, point by point, with due consideration for outside influences and later developments in the language, along with the possibilities of traditional influence, might yield some results of a rather questionable nature for the pronunciation of the East Germanic languages, where we are sure of the source.

Although the onomastic sources are of little use in the study of pronunciation, they are, however, of great value in any lexical study of the Germanic languages, for the study of etymology, customs of name-giving, and, by extension, culture and institutions. It is only recently, through the work of Piel, Aebischer, Corominas et al. that we have come to have reliable collections of these names, but the work of collection still has to be done for the most part. It seems incredible that these monuments to the thought, feeling, and culture of our Germanic forebears have not long since been collected in their entirety and studied. I hope that this article may be a step in the right direction.

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It will be appreciated if members will call my attention to items I have missed, and also to items in 1959 for the next annual installment of this bibliography.

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Names in Brief

Prairie Generics in Michigan

E. WALLACE McMULLEN

So far, no true generics of *prairie*[1] have been found on current topographical maps of Michigan.[2] Yet at one time there were a good number of named prairies in the state, and the inhabitants used the word considerably. For this information I am grateful to Professor Albert H. Marckwardt, who called my attention to Albert F. Butler's article entitled "Rediscovering Michigan's Prairies."[3]

In principle, some of Butler's observations hold true outside of Michigan, probably applying more to Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota than elsewhere. On page 268 of the September, 1947, installment Butler says, "The French fur traders and hunters ... [gave] us this heritage not only of a general topographical term, but names for specific prairie areas of Michigan — Portage Prairie, Terre Coupe Prairie, Prairie Mouillee, Prairie Ronde, Grand (Grande) Prairie, and possibly others." He goes on (*ibid.*, pp. 275—'76) to describe the conditions that affected the use of the expression in this region: "In many cases, the need for prairie names came before the need for village names and in a certain period, especially in the 1820's and 1830's, one spoke of prairies in giving directions, rather than employing the names of

[1] That is, names designating the prairies themselves, not other objects such as schools, creeks and churches which are frequently associated with prairies — *e.g.*, Bottom Prairie School (Mt. Sterling, Ill., map), Muddy Prairie Creek (Lancaster, Ohio), and Prairieville (Hastings, Mich.).

[2] Used, together with the maps of other states, as the basis of my article, "The Term *Prairie* in the United States" (*Names*, Vol. V, No. 1, March, 1957, pp. 27 to 46). A list of Ohio's obsolete true generics of *prairie* is given in footnote 2 of the article, p. 27.

[3] *Michigan History:* September, 1947, Vol. XXXI, pp. 267—'86; March, 1948, Vol. XXXII, pp. 15–36; June and September, 1949, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 117—'30 and 220—'31.

towns for that purpose, simply because prairie names often antedated village names. Prairie Ronde came before Schoolcraft; Gull Prairie, before Richland; Scales' Prairie, before Middleville, and so on. As a matter of fact, the term 'prairie' was incorporated into many postoffice names in early Michigan. To the frontiersman of and newcomer to Michigan, the prairie and its often vivid and picturesque name served as a device to help him find his way about. Names on the prairies helped provide geographic orientation. It was not long, however, before prairie names were no longer needed. Village names supplanted them in many cases. Place names of cities, counties, and townships, and the crosshatch of highways, named and numbered, have all but relieved prairie names of the need for survival. They have been lost sight of, if not completely forgotten. If you find any of them on a map, the map must be old. Many of them never 'made' the maps. No contemporary map of Michigan shows the prairies, and only rarely is a prairie name preserved, as in the case of Prairie Ronde, where the old French caption now serves as a township name. The most recently published Michigan guide (*Michigan, a Guide to the Wolverine State*, in the *American Guide Series* (New York, 1941)) fails to mention the prairies."

Butler lists fifty-eight Michigan prairie names (all apparently obsolete), eighteen of them without comment — namely, *Little Prairie Ronde*, another *Prairie Ronde* (see below), *Prairie Village*, and *Charlotte*, *Cook's*, *Edwards'*, *Garden*, *Gard's*, *Genesee*, *Girard*, *Goodrich*, *Grand*, *Gull*, *Harris*, *Johnnycake*, *LaGrange*, *Looking Glass*, and *Sand Prairies*.

The following group of names includes Butler's own remarks in the parentheses: *Aldrich's Prairie* (probably named for Isaac Aldrich); *Allen's Prairie* (for Captain Moses Allen); *Baldwin's Prairie* (John Baldwin); *Beardsley's* or *Four-Mile Prairie* (Ezra Beardsley; comprised 4410 acres); *Big Prairie* (in Wayne and Monroe Counties); *Big Prairie* (in Newaygo County; because of the effects of wind erosion, also called "'the desert' — a miniature Sahara"); *Bronson's Prairie* (Jabe Bronson); *Bull's Prairie* (Albert E. Bull); *Climax Prairie* ("'Well, this is the climax!' announced one of the prairie pioneers of this section when he saw for the first time the matchless beauty of the place. Tradition, at least, would have it that way."); *Coldwater Prairie* (from *Chucksew-ya-bish*, "coldwater"); *Coguaiack Prairie* (perhaps related to

Goguac Prairie, "pleasant water"); *Cocoosh Prairie* ("pork, hog"); *Dry Prairie* (occurring three times — in Calhoun and Branch Counties; Kalamazoo County; and St. Joseph County); *Goguac Prairie* ("pleasant water"); *Gourdneck Prairie* (from its shape on a map; also called East Prairie); *Grandville Prairie* (according to an 1878 source, often called "the little prairie;" linked with Grand Rapids. "To this day [1948], one of the leading streets of Grandville is called Prairie Street."); *Indian Prairie* (i.e., a place where Indians used to live); *Little Sherrar Prairie* (named for an old settler); *McCamly Prairie* (a settler); *McKenny's Prairie* (a pioneer); *Marengo Prairie* (?named for a song?); *Nottawa Prairie* (Indian: "reported to mean the river of the Ottawa, or a prairie along the river"); *Pokagon's Prairie* (a Potawatomi chief; the word means "rib"—"At the time of his capture he was said to have been wearing the rib of a slain Potawatomi."); *Portage Prairie* (said to have been named for the portage from the St. Joseph to the Kankakee); *Prairie Mouillee* ("wet meadow" — classified as a prairie by a 1749 cartographer); *Prairie Ronde* (called by the Indians *Wa-we-os-co-tang-sco-tah*, "round fire plain," where much of Cooper's *The Oak Openings* is laid); *Scales' Prairie* (Robert Scales, pioneer); *Shavehead's Prairie* (Potawatomi Chief Shavehead); *Shook's Prairie* (Jacob Shook, pioneer); *Snow Prairie* (pioneer Eleazer Snow); *Stearns Prairie* (John F. Stearns); *Sturgis' Prairie* (John Sturgis, a "Buckeye emigrant"); *Terre Coupe Prairie* (literally, "cut land," the significance of which is unknown); *Tolland's Prairie* (William Tolland, a squatter); *White Pigeon Prairie* (Potawatomi Chief *Wah-be-me-me*, "White Pigeon," in *Hiawatha*); *Wilder's Prairie* (?for Oshea Wilder, a surveyor?); *Wolf's Prairie* (?from the prevalence of wolves in the region?); and *Young's Prairie* (Nathan Young, "a slyper").

Evidently there are no true generics of *prairie* in Michigan at all at the present time. Nor are there very many false generics in the state: on the maps I found only four (including one also mentioned by Butler) in which the early names are preserved — *Cooks Prairie School* (Homer map), *Grand Prairie School* (Kalamazoo), *Prairie Ronde* (township on Schoolcraft map) and *Youngs Prairie Cemetery* (Vandalia).

Lehigh University

The Goodwins – An Appropriate Name

NORMAN NATHAN

> *. . . Antonio hath a ship of rich lading wrackt on the narrow Seas; the Goodwins I thinke they call the place, a very dangerous flat, and fatall, where the carcasses of many a tall ship, lye buried, . . . (MV, III, i, 3–7)*[1]

Recent editions of Shakespeare's plays are content to remark that the Goodwins is a dangerous shoal off the coast of Kent. Just why Shakespeare chose to refer to these sands has, however, been discussed by several who come to the general conclusion that the above passage is used for local color, "... to make us believe that we are in Venice, where Venetians, and not Englishmen, are speaking."[2]

While this conjecture may be true, it is possible that the choice of the particular shoals involved much more than local color. The *Merchant of Venice* is a play of friendship. The situation, by the beginning of Act III, is that Antonio, who has pawned his life as security for his friend Bassanio, is in danger of forfeiting his life because he is unable to repay the loan.

Antonio is a merchant. His business depends upon the success of his ships at sea. If these ships were to be wrecked, what means of destruction would further the plot and at the same time be most dramatically appropriate for Antonio's situation? In the opinion of this writer, it would be difficult to choose a more dramatically appropriate cause of destruction than the Goodwins,[3] for the name

[1] *Merchant of Venice Variorum*, ed. by H. H. Furness (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1888) pp. 124–125n.

[2] The Goodwin Sands are referred to three times in Shakespeare, the other two instances being in *King John* (V, iii, 11 and V, v, 13) where the reference is geographically appropriate to the loss of supplies intended for the Dauphin.

[3] The centrality of the friendship theme to the play has been shown by Laurens J. Mills in his *One Soul in Bodies Twain* (Bloomington, Indiana: Principia Press, 1937).

means *good friends.*[4] Antonio has been wrecked on the shoals of friendship, shoals which were there even though earlier he could not see them. The dramatic irony of "the Goodwins" makes it probable that Shakespeare did use these sands for more than local color, particularly in a play where the names of persons and places seem carefully chosen for their associative value, e.g., (Brutus') Portia, Belmont, Daniel (God is my judge), Tubal, Chus, Jessica, Laban, Leah.

One may, with greater risk, go a bit further. There was in Shakespeare's time a gentleman who was as dangerous to plays as the Goodwins was to ships. He was Master of the Revels, Edmund Tilney. *Tilney* means *good island,*[5] and the Goodwins were traditionally islands that had sunk so that even the crests were below sea level. May not Tilney have been responsible, figuratively speaking, for the burial of many a tall ship, for he did surpress certain plays? At least, it is pleasant to think that the Bard broke a lance with the chief censor.

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[4] *Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names,* compiled by E. G. Withycombe (New York: O.U.P., 1947), *s. v.* Godwin.

[5] Henry Harrison, *Surnames of the United Kingdom* (London: Morland Press, 1918, v. 2), *s. v.* Tilney.

The Nature of the Generics in Island, Ledge, and Rock Names of the Maine Coast

DONALD B. SANDS

The generics in the names of Maine's offshore features fall into four groups and the first half of this study deals with them. Presumably other generics can be similarly treated. The second half, and it is hoped that it grows naturally out of the first, concerns the problem of when elements of binomial toponyms can be considered lexical evidence. The names treated are drawn from the twenty-nine Geological Survey sheets of the 15′ series covering the coast of Maine from Calais township to the New Hampshire border. Coast and Geodetic Survey charts as well as *The Coast Pilot: Atlantic Coast-Section A* are also used, but primarily as checks on the GS sheets, whose yield of names for islands, at least, shows no marked difference from that which can be taken from the two last-mentioned sources. With ledge and rock names, the same cannot be said, since both the CG charts and *The Coast Pilot* record somewhat more of these than do the GS sheets. Nevertheless, the sampling provided by the GS sheets seems representative enough for present purposes.[1] Unfortunately, printed sources supply the main body of data and there is the danger, inherent in all such studies, that oral usage may not be mirrored at all times. However,

[1] The titles of the topographic sheets with their edition dates and the number of names of offshore features on each follow: Bar Harbor (1942) 48; Bath (1945) 75; Biddeford (1941) 24; Blue Hill (1944) 28; Boothbay (1944) 92; Casco Bay (1916) 58; Castine (1943) 29; Cherryfield (1904) 23; Columbia Falls (1941) 41; Cutler (1918) 4; Deer Isle (1944) 125; Eastport (1943) 40; Freeport (1944) 32; Great Wass Island (1921) 46; Kennebunk (1941) 1; Machias (1941) 38; Matinicus (1906) 28; Monhegan (1906) 103; Mount Desert (1942) 29; Petit Manan (1904) 32; Portland (1916) 4; Robbinston (1931) 2; Rockland (1906) 33; Small Point (1944) 29; Swans Island (1945) 58; Tenants Harbor (1906) 56; Vinalhaven (1944) 107; Waldoboro (1915) 6; and York (1920) 21.

informants native to the areas of the lower Penobscot and Kennebec Rivers were consulted during the summers of 1957 and 1958 and their responses are noted whenever they seem at variance with printed evidence.

I.

The total number of names recorded for islands, ledges, and rocks is 1212, but the figure is a little deceiving in that it represents fewer water-encompassed features than are actually shown. The ones not represented are those situated in individual clusters, each cluster being given a collective name usually distinguished by a pluralized generic. There are ninety-nine of these and hence there must be at least as many more actual islands, ledges, and rocks figured on the sheets. If a collective name covers three, and three would seem to be about average, then the number of water-encompassed areas must be close to 1410.

Treatment can best begin by clearing away the more basic generics and also those which would seem to be among the more basic but actually are not. There are 904 names with the generic *island* expressed, of which fifty-six are plural.[2] The figure implies that the remaining 308 names must show one or the other of the two most common generics — namely, *ledge* or *rock* — but only to a degree is the implication correct. One hundred nineteen show the generic *ledge*, of which thirty are plural, and eighty-nine show the generic *rock*, of which thirteen are plural. These figures account for all but one hundred names. *Reef* as a generic appears but once, in *Two Bush Reef*. *Breaker*, in the sense "ledge", appears three times; there is one ledge bearing the name *Southeast Breaker* and two the name *South Breaker*. The word is native to Maine's toponymy and dialect; it appears apparently in names of similar application elsewhere only in California.[3] There are seven appearances of the now semi-poetic *isle*: three with simple attributives, in *Deer Isle*, *High Isle*, and *Little Deer Isle*; three in phrasal combinations, two

[2] These, incidentally, are genuine plurals and in no way genitive constructions.

[3] A point made by Meredith F. Burrill in his paper "Localized Toponymic Generics," read at the Association of American Geographers in Cincinnati April 2, 1957, a mimeographed copy of which Mr. Burrill kindly supplied. The *OED* lists a close usage "a break-water (*obs*)" with one New World citation dated 1661; the *DA* covers the word with "a reef or bank on which the waves break. ?*Obs.*" with the earliest attestation dated 1722. Toponymically, the term seems far from obsolete.

English, in *Isle of Springs* and *Isles of Shoals*, and one French, in *Isle au Haut*; and one in preposed and combined position, in *Islesboro*. Two observations are called for. One is that Maine's offshore pilots refer to small rocky projections in the sea as *ledges* and not *reefs*. Informants living in the estuary region of the Penobscot River substantiate this statement, as do the large-scale CG charts for the Penobscot Bay area, whereon additional names using *breaker* may be found but, with only an isolated exception or two, no further instances of *reef* appear. The other observation is that *isle* is present only with names which were given either early in Maine's history or relatively late, the latter being the case with *Isle of Springs*, which was originally *Swett* or *Sweet Island*, so called after a family of that name.[4] The diminutive *islet* seems not to appear on the Maine Coast at all, although in the Hydrographic Office publications for the eastern Canadian coast it is not infrequent.[5] With these disposed of, there are eighty-nine names left.

What follows is not so simple and several curious problems are involved, because, although the remaining names belong to areas that are geographically islands, ledges, and rocks, none of them employs a generic of the kind just treated. With the 1212 names being considered, four distinct categories of generic are evident. The first, the one just treated, is that of the true generic. A second is that of the transferred generic, a category made up of terms which elsewhere are true generics, but in this particular category serve as generics in names of areas that do no fit the lexical sense of the generic used.[6] A generic, however, is here considered transferred

[4] The US Geographic Board in its *Sixth Report* (GPO 1933) fixed the name as *Sweet Island*, but reversed the decision in the "Decision Lists" for July–June 1941; it is now officially *Isle of Springs* and not *Sweet*, *Sweat's*, or *Swetts' Island*.

[5] *Sailing Directions* HO No. 99 "Nova Scotia" (1939) lists *Ball Islet*, *Basque Islets*, *Breakfast Islet*, and so on for about an average of two *islet* generics per page for thirty pages of index; a somewhat lower average per index page holds for *Sailing Directions* HO N. 100 "The Gulf and River of St. Lawrence" (1934), HO No. 76 "Baffin Bay and Davis Strait" (1947), and HO No. 73 "Newfoundland" (1942). Only HO No. 100 shows in its index the French forms *ile*, *iles*, and *ilot*.

[6] The label *transferred generic* can undoubtedly be improved, but the phenomenon it names is common. In Maine, for example, Bailey and Chebeague Islands in Cumberland County, Capitol Island in Lincoln County, and Cliff Island in the first ward of Portland are officially and locally both islands and villages. Stowell Rounds discusses a related matter in *Names*, VI, 2 (June 1958), 124–25, when he cites instances where *street* appears as the generic in names of small towns.

only if it appears two or more times in a particular transferred sense, those terms in generic position appearing only once being considered, perhaps somewhat arbitrarily, in a final category, that of the generic by position.

Six different transferred generics appear and they cover eighteen different island names. *Haven* is one; it appears twice, in *North Haven* and *Vinalhaven*. The latter island was named first; its second element was eventually carried over into the name of its immediate northern neighbor; and in these two instances, *haven* is an equivalent of "island".[7] *Head* appears as a transferred generic five times, in *Bluff Head*, *Carrying Place Head*, *Outerhead*, and *Squaw Head*; *neck* appears twice, in *Stinson Neck* and *Whitmore Neck*; and *port* also appears twice, in *Southport* and *Westport*. The *head* generics arise from the fact that four belong to islands having promontories or "heads" and that one belongs to an island situated at the head of a carry. The *necks* appear in names for areas which are geographically islands, but, from the pilot's point of view, necks of the mainland. The *ports* are peculier in that the areas designated by the names in which they appear are so much a part of the mainland that their island nature is only cartographically apparent.

Two transferred generics remain; they are in the names of low conical islands, one being *knob* and the other *nub* with its variants *knubble* and *nubble*, here for the sake of convenience considered as one. The former appears three times, twice in the basically tautological *Pumpkin Knob* and again in *Thurlow Knob*, while the latter appears four times, in the combinations *Conary Nub*, *Little Knubble*, *Cutters Nubble*, and *Jennys Nubble*. In Maine, names of conical mainland elevations, especially in the Mount Desert region, often show *knob* and *nub* as generics and similarly shaped offshore elevations have borrowed them.[8]

[7] Cf. George J. Varney, *A Gazetteer of the State of Maine*, Boston, B. B. Russell 1881, pp. 400, 553–54. The eighteenth century names were *North* and *South Fox Islands*.

[8] Although *knob* in the sense "hill" is now used chiefly in American English (it is attested in its geographic sense as early as 1650 by the *OED*), *nub* and its byforms *knubble* and *nubble*, plus *nubbin*, which appears as a generic only on the mainland, are frequent in Maine toponyms. The *OED*, *DAE*, *DA*, *EDD*, and *The Century Dictionary* of 1911 do not note their toponymic application, nor are any of the forms to be found in A. H. Smith's *English Place-Name Elements*, Cambridge, Eng., 1956. There may be, moreover, a certain projective connotation in these

A third category, the second beyond that of the true generic, is the one which substitutes the difinite article for a generic.[9] The names themselves appear in the singular or the plural, according to whether what is named is made up of one or more than one area. Conceivably, these names could appear with true generics; feasible in oral as well as written usage is the phrase "rowing by Keg Rock," but "rowing by The Keg" shows the definite article in a special function. It indicates to a local pilot a particular water-encompassed area that is a navigationally critical one — one, for example, that he can use as a reference, since in all probability it is situated at the entrance to a channel or at some easily noted distance between one harbor and another. Such areas, then, are distinctive and their distinctiveness is signaled by a special naming process, that which uses the article plus the name of an object the area resembles in shape or the name of an object the area has by folk imagination somehow acquired. In short, *the* in a given coastal context implies something which *island*, *ledge*, or *rock* would not imply.

In this third category fall fourteen names in the singular — *The Ark*, *The Barrel*, *The Castle*, *The Downfall*, *The Fort*, *The Hogshead*, *The Hop*, *The Hub*, *The Ladle*, *The Neck*, *The Nub*, *The Nubbin*, and *The Thrumcap* — and thirteen examples in the plural — *The Brothers* (there are three of this name), *The Cuckolds*, *The Goslings*, *The Graves*, *The Hypocrites*, *The Kegs*, *The Porcupines*, *The Shivers*, *The Sisters*, *The Triangles*, and *The Twinnies*.[10] Their origin is generally apparent, distinctive shape being indicated by most. *The Hop*, however, derives from position; it is, although perhaps not literally, within hopping distance of Long Porcupine Island in Frenchman Bay. *The Brothers*, *The Sisters*, and *The Twinnies* derive from the relatively close grouping of the ledges they name, the last being or having been, according to one informant, locally *Twin Tits*. *The Downfall*, *The Graves*, *The Cuckolds*, and *The Hypocrites* belong to a large group of ledges that bear lugubrious names and are of a singularly treacherous nature. The first two prob-

generics, since several native informants attest local use of *nub* and *nubbin* in the sense "small" or "immature breast."

[9] Cf. James B. McMillan, "Observations on American Place-Name Grammar," *AS*, XXIV, 4 (Dec. 1949), 243 ff.

[10] Three single element names appear on the GS sheets without the article — *Sisters*, *Spectacles*, and *Thrumcap*. They are, in view of other names like them, inconsistent and are probably oversights.

ably derive from historical incident; the last are products of folk imagination. No explanation of *The Cuckolds* is really conclusive. Their low flat surface precludes the possibility that horn-like similarity suggested the name and their outline is not at all horn shaped.[11] Even though these ledges — they lie just off Cape Newagen — are frequented by various species of shore bird, W. L. McAtee, the authority on ornithological folk names, cannot identify any bird name that would be pertinent.[12] Horace Beck notes their particularly hazardous location and adds that they have caused "many a homing mariner . . . [to be] deluded."[13] Cuckolds, however, do not delude and it is probably their strikingly forsaken nature suggestive of the cuckold himself that has made the name stick. With *The Hypocrites*, development is historically clear. No one knows the original name of these two uninhabited islets situated at the eastern entrance to Fisherman Passage by Linekin Neck. In 1674 the name *Hyppocras Island* was applied to what is now Fisherman Island; the specific derived by folk etymology from an Indian name *Epituse*, which did not mean anything to the early white settlers while *hyppocras* did, namely "a spiced wine."[14] When the new name *Fisherman Island* was applied to Hyppocras, the latter's name was transferred to the tiny islets some three-quarters of a mile due east and here it was again altered by folk-etymology, this time to *The Hypocrites*, the wine name being by the end of the eighteenth century chiefly a learned item.[15]

Forty-one names remain. These also are printed on the GS sheets without *island*, *ledge*, or *rock* or their dialect synonyms and well-informed native residents of Islesboro affirm that the dozen generic-

[11] Maine apparently offers no other toponymic use of *cuckold*; but Newfoundland has two *Cuckold Coves*, two *Cuckold Heads*, a *Cuckold Rocks*, and a *Cuckolds Point*, according the HO No. 73 "Newfoundland," mentioned in footnote 5.

[12] Letter dated November 24, 1958.

[13] *The Folklore of Maine*, Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott, 1957, p. 13.

[14] Beverage names abound in coastal Maine; there are, among others, *Dram Island*, *Grog Island*, *Grog Ledge*, *Rum Key* and *Rum Island*; but coves and inlets seem to be particularly favored with beverage specifics with *rum* being the most frequent.

[15] Fanny H. Eckstorm, "Indian Place-Names of the Penobscot Valley and the Maine Coast," *The Maine Bulletin*, XLIV, 4 (Orono, Me., 1941), 120. Mrs. Eckstorm was unable to identify the name *Epituse*, but assumes (p. 121) that it may have "meant that the island lay between the two passages into Boothbay." Cf. Francis B. Greene, *History of Boothbay*, Portland, Loring, Short, and Harmon, 1906, pp. 19–21.

less names on the charts of East and West Penobscot Bays are also genericless in oral use. Here, three features common to all generics should be noted — frequency, lexical sense, and position.[16] Frequency has already been touched on — the fact that a term should appear several times in different toponymic combinations applied to similar geographic features before it can be classed a generic. A geographic sense is a requisite. *Bull*, although it appears a half-dozen times in names of ledges and rocks in generic position (*Roaring Bull* and *White Bull*, for example), is not a generic, since no sense "ledge" can be attested outside of toponymics for the term *bull*. Position is a third feature, since a generic is usually the second element in a binomial, although occasionally in some other position, as in *Isles of Shoals*, where the generic heads a phrase, and it is position that can serve as the basis for the final category, one made up of binomials containing terms which appear in one of the two or three possible generic positions, but which do not have a lexical sense appropriate to the geographic feature named.

There are thirty examples in the singular — *Big Pot*, *Blackhorse*, *Brown Cow* (there are two of this name), *Devils Back*, *Devils Elbow*, *Devils Limb*, *East Barge*, *Eastern Ear*, *Fiddle Head*, *Goosenest*, *High Sheriff*, *Junk of Pork* (there are two of this name), *Niggerhead*, *No Mans Land*, *Pound of Tea*, *Rabbits Ear*, *Roaring Bull*, *Rum Key*, *Saddleback*, *Thunder Hole*, *Thrumcap Monument*, *Torrey Castle*, *West Barge*, *Western Ear*, *Whaleback* (there are two of this name), *White Bull*, and *Whitehorse* — and four in the plural — *Northern Triangles*, *Southern Triangles*, *Stepping Stones*, and *Sugar Loaves*. Here also might be placed *Jordans Delight*, *Kemps Folly*, and *Popes Folly*, although there is some evidence that *delight* and *folly* were once true generics.[17]

Most of these names are similar to the ones in the preceding category in that they apply to relatively small water-encompassed areas which are both navigational aids and hazards; and the basis of naming just discussed also applies here in most cases. It can be noted parenthetically that in neither of the two categories does a patronym

[16] Cf. Meredith F. Burrill, "Toponymic Generics I," *Names* IV, 3 (Sept. 1956), 129, where generics are defined as "terms for physical features used in geographic names."

[17] George R. Stewart, *Names on the Land*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1958, p. 460, discusses *folly; delight* with the possible generic sense "resort" is attested by some dozen instances collected by the writer.

or eponym appear, both categories employing terms of high lexical frequency and, for the most part, of concrete lexical signification. Some doubt can be raised as to the orthography of *Goosenest*, *Niggerhead*, *Saddleback*, *Whaleback*, and *Whitehorse*. Edwin G. Gudde notes that *Sugarloaf Hill* appears without the generic usually as *Sugar Loaf*,[18] and presumably the same orthographic convention should apply here (as it does, for example, in the GS printing of *Fiddle Head*), because it is a visual suggestion that the two elements have the level stress which is given, certainly in the lower Penobscot area, to the majority of island, ledge, and rock names made up of one specific followed by a true generic.

The names that remain fall, for one reason or another, outside the foregoing classification. Arrowsic and Georgetown, which are two large areas of land off the lower left bank of the Kennebec seem never to have had generics attached to their names; but no one on Route 127 would be likely to know he were on island territory unless told; bridges and roads obliterate their island nature. *Sow and Pigs* is printed by a cluster of ledges just northeast of Bustins Island on the Freeport quadrangle; it is the only name so compounded in the whole group. One might expect more of the type (as *Horse and Mare* and *Pot and Ladle*) and undoubtedly in oral use in certain foreshore areas many more do exist, since two rocks side by side would seem to call forth such names from rural coastal residents. *The Black Rocks* appears on the Boothbay quadrangle beside a group of dry rocks at the western approach to Sheepscot Bay. The form is unique. Whether it is an error or an attempt to represent local usage is not certain; but its very uniqueness, both in form and in the location of the rocks it names (they are well out beyond similar obstructions), seems to make the latter possibility feasible, since, as already noted, the article apparently attaches itself readily to distinctive navigational references.

II

And now a word about *thrumcap* as a means of illustrating the lexical difficulties presented by terms which may or may not be archaic dialect fossilized in toponyms.[19] None of the informants

[18] "Sugarloaf," *Names*, IV, 4 (Dec. 1956), 241.

[19] *Thrumcap*, perhaps only by association, is treated at length as a generic by Meredith F. Burrill, "Toponymic Generics II," *Names*, IV, 4 (Dec. 1956), 231–32;

mentioned in the first paragraph could suggest the original meaning of the word, although one or two (the Postmaster of Islesboro, for example) wondered whether it might be an incorrect or archaic spelling of *thumbcap*. A Canadian publication, noting the shoal Thrumcap at the entrance to Halifax Harbor, explains it as being "probably from the 'thrumming' noise of the surf on the 'cape'."[20] But *-cap* as a bound form of *cape* would be difficult to find in English elsewhere, although *thrum* in its noise sense "drum" does probably lie behind *Thrum Point* and *Big* and *Little Thrum Islets* on the Nova Scotia coast. Actually it is most likely that the term is the same as *thrumcap*, "a knitted cap once worn by sailors," first attested by the *OED* in 1624.[21] But only one dictionary, *The Century* of 1911, notes its toponymic use; yet with a definition — "a ragged rocky headland swept by the sea. Also *thrum-cap*. (Nova Scotis)" — which is misleading on two counts. First, there are apparently no instances of *thrumcap* used in names which do not refer to small islands or, exceptionally, shoals; and second, there are a good number of *thrumcap* combinations outside of Nova Scotia — namely, around the island of Newfoundland, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and down the upper coast of Maine.[22]

As for its functions, *thrumcap* appears most frequently as a specific — chiefly with a true generic, as in *Thrumcap Island* (Maine has three of this name); but also with the generic by position, as in *Thrumcap Monument*; with the definite article as generic, as in *The Thrumcap*; and finally, with no generic at all, as in *Thrumcap*, as though the name were similar to *Big Pot* and *Blackhorse*, although inappropriately, because both of these names are given level stress locally while *thrumcap* is given the accentuation of *oar lock*

his conclusion that the word "never did have practical significance," however, is the one arrived at here.

[20] *Fourteenth Report of the Geographic Board of Canada* (1916), Ottawa, 1917, p. 267.

[21] The view held by *The Sixth Report* of the US Geographic Board (GPO 1933) in its explanation of *The Thrumcap*, the name of an island some three and a half miles southeast of the town of Bar Harbor. *The Report* cautions against use of the forms *thrumbcap* and *thumcap* and types the islands so named as "bare ... [with] a tuft of pines or spruce at ... [the] peak."

[22] Nova Scotia does, however, show highest frequency. The index to the Sailing Directions for Nova Scotia (mentioned in footnote 5) lists fourteen *thrumcap* names, while the index to *The Coast Pilot: Atlantic Coast-Section A* (St. Croix River to Cape Cod) lists only seven.

and *headland*. No instance of *thrumcap* in typical generic position — that is, as second element in a binomial — appears on the Maine Coast, although Nova Scotia has two, in *Big Thrumcap* and *Little Thrumcap*. These aspects known, one can ask what sort of a term is *thrumcap*. Should it be considered a lexical item and defined as "a small, conical island often with a tuft of trees in the center?" There are sufficient offshore features bearing the term *thrumcap* as a specific to warrant such a definition on the basis of frequency. Or should such a sense, because it is toponymically but not otherwise attested be relegated to toponymy only? The latter alternative seems the sounder, and simply because generic position is usually the lexical one while specific position, the one *thrumcap* almost always occupies, is usually the metaphoric. Returning, then, to the definition in *The Century Dictionary*, one can find it misleading on yet a third count; it is entered without benefit of a guide phrase restricting the sense given to toponymy.

The toponymic frequency of *thrumcap* is due to the ubiquity of a type of headgear among sailors of the Maine and Canadian coasts a century and a half ago and the presence of certain islands resembling it in shape and appearance. It is metaphorical, but unlike some other generics which also at first must have been metaphorical and similarly restricted to specific position, *thrumcap* seems never to have jumped the gap from specific to generic. Here perhaps is a rule of thumb (the pun is incidental): frequency in generic position can be balanced against frequency in specific position. If appearances in the former predominate, it is likely that an unrecorded term present in toponymic combinations may also be a lexical item for a geographic feature. If specific position predominates, as it does with *thrumcap*, then the term probably never achieved status as the name for a geographic feature. Arbitrary and obvious as the idea may seem, the large number of specifics and generics not lexically recorded that have been collected by the writer from maps, charts, and township records of the coastal areas of New England indicates that some such working distinction is necessary.

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Place Name Literature, United States 1955–1959

PAULINE A. SEELY, RICHARD B. SEALOCK

UNITED STATES

Allen, Harold B. Distribution patterns of place-name pronunciations. *Names* 6:74–79, June 1958.

The effect of native speech and the prestige factor on the pronunciation of local place names. Examples drawn from *The linguistic atlas of the upper Midwest.*

Comment on this article and the pronunciation of some of the place names mentioned in it (Iowa, Omaha, Missouri, Chicago, Illinois) appeared in *Omaha world-herald* Nov. 3, 1958, p. 8, col. 2, taken from *Chicago tribune.*

America's Christmas postmarks. *Good housekeeping* 145:60, Dec. 1957.

A list of town names related to Christmas, such as Santa Claus, Ind.

Ashley, James M. Montana. *Names* 4:176–77, Sept. 1956.

A letter to Judge William H. Hunt, dated April 28, 1892. Ashley explains his choice of names for western territories while serving as chairman of the Committee on Territories (1863–69) in the House of Representatives. Those included are Montana, Arizona and Wyoming in addition to others not named.

Bailey, John. Hysterical history — state names. *Saturday evening post* 226:38, April 3; 40, May 1; 44, June 12; 227:38, Aug. 21; 46, Sept. 11; 44, Oct. 16; 38, Nov. 6; 40, Dec. 4, 1954; 38, Jan. 29; 40, Feb. 26; 38, April 2; 40, April 30; 40, May 28; 228:38, July 23; 38, Aug. 20; 42, Sept. 17, 1955.

Nov. 6, 1954 issue has title: How the states got their names.

Satire (on Post Scripts page).

Bakal, Carl. Town namer. *Cosmopolitan* 139:79, Sept. 1955.

Brief statement on the work of Meredith F. Burrill, Director of the Office of Geography.

Beeler, Madison S. On etymologizing Indian place-names. *Names* 5:236–40, Dec. 1957.

Best, Katharine & Katherine Hillyer. Very funny name, Peculiar; history and whimsy go into the naming of our home towns, and the results are sometimes pretty weird. *Coronet* 37:75–78, Jan. 1955.

Blakeslee, Alton L. How to find your friend's house — in 10 easy lessons. *Chicago sun-times* March 11, 1956, p. 40.

Description of a numbering system devised by Ambrose Ryder and set forth in a booklet *Where is where.*

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Abstract of paper presented at 53rd annual meeting April 1–4, 1957.

——Stream terms in U.S. geographic names. *Association of American Geographers. Annals* 45:173, June 1955.

Abstract.

——Toponymic generics. *Names* 4:129–37, 226–40, Sept.–Dec. 1956.

A fundamental essay on generic names used in the geography of the United States.

Bye, John O. Why these names for rivers, creeks, buttes and mines. In his *Back trailing in the heart of the short-grass country.* Everett, Wash., Alexander Print Co., 1956. p. 367–68.

Coard, Robert L. The possessive apostrophe in names. *American speech* 33:176–79, Oct. 1958.

Includes place names.

Colby, Frank. Romance in American place names. *Omaha world-herald* Nov. 4, 1945, p. 19-C.

One of a series of syndicated daily articles on language, entitled "Take my word for it."

Crouch, Kenneth E. Bedford and its namesakes. In *Bedford County bicentennial, official program.* 1954. p. 107.

Bedford, Va., and other Bedfords, with origin of the name for each.

——Bedford and its namesakes. *Annals of Wyoming* 29:38–40, April 1957.

Discussion of the various places in the U. S. named Bedford. Traces migration of name.

——Thurman named for 19th century Ohio senator. *Sidney* (*Iowa*) *Argus-herald* June 11, 1959, p. 7, col. 1–3.

Places in Iowa, Ohio, New York and Idaho named Thurman, and in West Virginia and South Carolina named Thurmond, for members of the Thurman family of Virginia.

DeVoto, Bernard. The Indian all round us. *Reader's digest* 62:61–64, April 1953.

Includes place names of Indian origin.

Dillon, Richard H. Name indexes in American libraries. *Library journal* 81:56, 58–60, Jan. 1, 1956.

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Dobie, James Frank. *The mustangs.* Boston, Little, Brown, 1952. 376 p.

American places named for wild horses: p. 330.

Duckert, Audrey R. Cottage Grove from coast to coast: the genealogy of a place name. *Names* 7:180–83, Sept. 1958.

The author finds no ties between the eleven towns with this name in all parts of the U. S.

——Gutter: its rise and fall. *Names* 4:146–54, Sept. 1956.

A proposal to change the name of Grassy Gutter Road, a street in Longmeadow, Mass., touched off this study of the use of the term "Gutter" in geographic terminology.

Dunlap, Arthur R. English and American place-name studies; a contrast. *American speech* 31:119–21, May 1956.

In reviewing Potter's article on Cheshire names and David Lindsey's *Ohio's Western Reserve*, author indicates means of broadening American studies.

Fairclough, G. Thomas. Notes on some unusual street names in Nebraska City. *American speech* 34:70–71, Feb. 1959.

Use of *Corsos* in this city of Nebraska. Half the article lists unusual terms for streets found in the U. S. and requests information on their current use.

First-aid towns, U. S. A. *Good housekeeping* 146:111, Jan. 1958.

A list of names such as Pillow, Pa., Hygiene, Colo.

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Furnas, J. C. The names we go by. *Saturday evening post* 230:36–37, 71, Dec. 28, 1957.

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——Bird towns. *Nature magazine* 48:132, March 1955.

Towns with bird names.

Goforth, Elena. What's in a state name. *American mercury* 79:125–28, Aug. 1954.

Meaning of the state names.

Gudde, Erwin Gustav. Frémont-Preuss and western names. *Names* 5:169–81, Sept. 1957.

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——Sugarloaf. *Names* 4:241–43, Dec. 1956.

A strange generic topographical term.

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Reprinted as: Smithsonian Institution. Publication 4205. 1955. Includes Canadian names of Indian origin: p. 387–88.

Hartesveldt, Richard J. & Jane Hartesveldt. *The campsite finder. Cartoons by Marian Smith.* San Martin, Calif., Naturegraph Co., 1957. 2v.

Helfer, Harold. Ever been to Mugfuzzle Flat? *American mercury* 81:12–14, Oct. 1955.

A popular article on odd town names.

Hollis, C. Carroll. Names in *Leaves of grass*. *Names* 5:129–56, Sept. 1957.

Conclusions from an investigation of new manuscript evidence of Whitman's concern with names, particularly place names, presented with the explanation of his theory and practice.

How cities chose their names. *American city* 73:173, Aug. 1958.

Different factors that influence the choice of name, also names from famous places and famous persons.

Hubbell, Allan F. Form of street addresses. *American speech* 32:233–34, Oct. 1957.

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Interesting post office names. *Hobbies* 63:99, Oct. 1958.

Examples of many different categories of post office names.

Jacobs, Jane. Nombres de lugares de Estados Unidos. *Revista geografica americana* 35:257–66, junio 1953.

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Kuethe, J. Louis. Pocosin. *Modern language notes* 52: 210–11, March 1937.

Meaning marsh or swamp, the term is now used in southern states, but appears in *Rent rolls of Baltimore County, Md.* in 1700.

Longstreth, Joseph & John Ludwig. *43 plus 1: Washington, and the District of Columbia: the story of how the forty-eight states and their capital cities got their names.* New York, Abelard-Schuman, 1957. 176 p.

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McConnell, Raymond. Where is the 'Middle West'? *Lincoln (Neb.) evening journal* April 30, 1956.

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McCutcheon, John T., Jr. A line o' type or two. Why is "street" in disfavor? *Chicago tribune* May 11, 1954, p. 20; May 12, 1954, p. 24; May 13, 1954, p. 18.

"The term 'street' in names of streets is being supplanted by other terms, for which etymologies are given." *American speech.*

McDavid, Raven I., Jr. Linguistic geography and toponymic research. *Names* 6:65–73, June 1958.

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McDonald, Gerald Doan. Doane place names. *Doane Family Association of America. Report of proceedings. Reunion* 1953, p. 3–11.

Pub. 1955.

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Meredith, Mamie. 'Miracle miles' in the U. S. A. *American speech* 31:230–31, Oct. 1956.

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See additional article by Homer Aschmann in California section.

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On the streets where we live. *Aramco world* 9:6–7, Sept. 1958.

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Palmer, C. B. O death! O misery! *New York times* Jan. 30, 1955, Magazine, p. 69.

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Plank, Robert. Projection in topographic names. *Names* 6:80–87, June 1958.

A study of the psychological principle of "projection" in descriptive place names.

Porter, P. W. Thanks to readers, Polecat Hollow is in the same orbit as Mars. *Cleveland plain dealer* May 3, 1958.

An additional article, April 24.

Odd place names.

Porter, Philip. Porter on odd names. *Cleveland plain dealer* Sept. 13, 1958.

An editor of this paper lists odd place names sent in by readers of his column. Similar lists appeared in the April 24 and May 5 issues.

Preuss, Charles. *Exploring with Frémont: the private diaries of Charles Preuss, cartographer for John C. Frémont on his first, second and fourth expeditions to the Far West: trans. and ed. by Erwin G. and Elisabeth K. Gudde.* Norman, Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1958. 162 p. (The American exploration and travel series, no. 26)

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Quigg, Doc. American towns pose problem for writer. *Austin, Tex., Statesman* Oct. 4, 1957, p. 14.

Humorous names of American towns.

Ryan, Jack. What's in a name? *Family weekly magazine* Sept. 16, 1956, p. 2.

"Humorous names of American towns." *American speech.*

Shankle, George Earlie. *American nicknames: their origin and significance. 2d ed.* New York, Wilson, 1955. 524 p.

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Short (Va.) Story (Ark.), U. S. A. *Good housekeeping* 146:143, Feb. 1958.

A list of unusual town names.

Spain. Ejército. Servicio Geografico. *Cartografía de ultramar. Carpeta II. Estados Unidos y Canadá. Toponimia de los mapas que la integran relaciones de ultramar.* Madrid, Imprenta del Servicio geográfico del ejército, 1953. 598 p.

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Storms, J. C. Why "Doodletown?" *New York folklore quarterly* 3:58 to 59, Spring 1947.

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U. S. Congress. Senate. *Joint resolution to change the name of Bedloe's Island in New York harbor to Liberty Island. 84th Congress, 2d session, S. J. Res. 114, Jan. 9, 1956.* Washington, 1956. 2p.

Introduced by Mr. Pastore and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

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U. S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. *Change in name of Bedloe's Island... Report to accompany S. J. Res. 114. June 26, 1956.* Washington, 1956. 4p. (U. S. 84th Congress. 2d session. Senate. Report no. 2356. Calendar no. 2380)

Includes references to the disapproval of the change by the Board on Geographic Names.

U. S. Laws, statutes, etc. *Joint resolution to change the name of Bedloe's Island in New York harbor to Liberty Island. Public law 936.* (*United States statutes at large.* 84th Congress. 2d session. 1956. v. 70, p. 956, Chapter 902) S. J. Res. 114 became law Aug. 3, 1956.

Newspaper articles that tell the story of this change follow, in chronological order:

Senators favor naming Bedloe's "Liberty Island." *New York times* June 7, 1956, p. 9, col. 4.

A Senate Interior subcommittee adopted a joint resolution to change the name of Bedloe's Island to "Liberty Island." Includes list of previous names of the island.

"Liberty Island." *New York times* June 8, 1956, p. 24, col. 3.

Editorial in support of the proposed change.

Bedloe's Island change backed. *New York times* June 27, 1956, p. 14, col. 5.

The Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee approved changing name.

Liberty Island bill advances. *New York times* July 3, 1956, p. 16, col. 8.

The Senate passed and sent to the House legislation to change the name of Bedloe's Island to Liberty Island.

Bedloe's Island bill gains. *New York times* July 7, 1956, p. 15, col. 4.

The bill to change the name won the approval of a House Interior subcommittee.

Bedloe's bill delayed. *New York times* July 11, 1956, p. 31, col. 1.

Several committee members and the Budget Bureau opposed the change, contending it would outdate maps and charts of New York harbor. Board on Geographic Names also opposed.

Statue of Liberty site is voted a new name. *New York times* July 24, 1956, p. 27, col. 6.

House of Representatives passed and sent to the President the Senate-approved resolution to change the name of Bedloe's Island to "Liberty Island." Lists previous names.

It's Liberty Island now. *New York times* Aug. 4. 1956, p. 17, col. 1.

President Eisenhower signs bill giving new name to Bedloe's Island.

Topics of the Times. *New York times* Aug. 24, 1956, p. 18, col. 4.

Reports unfavorable comments of a citizen on the change from Bedloe's to Liberty Island.

Statue of Liberty celebrates at 70. *New York times* Oct. 29, 1956, p. 31, col. 6.

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Nevins, Allan. Epic of Liberty Island. *New York times* Oct. 28, 1956, sec. 6, p. 15, 67–69.

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Here's how to start a name collection. *Chicago Sunday tribune* Dec. 1, 1957, pt. 6, p. 12.

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Deals with the geographical location and the meaning of natural features and objects that owe their names and stories to the mythological life and activities of the giant Judaculla.

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Street names in Cleveland.

Lindsey, David. New England origins of Western Reserve place names. *American speech* 30:243–55, Dec. 1955.

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On the place name.

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Indians named Puyallup, and this is why! *Chicago tribune* Dec. 18, 1955, part 6, p. 10R.

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Names of Real-Estate Developments: II

ARTHUR MINTON

PART I OF THIS PAPER (*Names*, September, 1959) contained a brief account of the character of real-estate developments, explained the materials and methods of the present study, and took up some morphological aspects of development names. A description of semantic themes represented in the names was begun. In that connection the most popular unbound elements were the subject of comment, as were development names of a British cast and those referring to natural features. Part II continues the semantic analysis, first with notice of examples that are based on personal names.

The following abbreviations are used:

NI — Section Index of the Land and Tax Map of Nassau County (Long Island), New York.

NYT — New York *Times*.

TSN — Notices of the sale of property on which taxes were in arrears, in Suffolk County (Long Island), New York; published in local newspapers.

PERSONAL NAMES

The names of builders or of officials of the developing companies appear in some names. Charles Reid was one of the builders of Reid-Way Homes (Paramus, N. J.); Brunetti-Built Homes is at Fair Lawn, N. J. Surdi Homes (Babylon, L. I.) is a colony of Joseph Surdi. Deanin Homes (on Hempstead Turnpike at Bethpage Parkway, L. I.) is a development of Zalmain Deanin. Although strictly outside the scope of this article — being now far-flung communities carrying on functions of local government — the Levittown on Long Island and the one in Pennsylvania, developed by William Levitt & Sons, should be mentioned here.

It is no doubt in a far smaller proportion of cases that a surname commemorates the name of the former holder of the property. Belluscio Estates was laid out on the Belluscio farm; Duffy Homes,

Inc. developed the farm of the Duffy family.[23] Again, a personal name may be selected in a secondary way from the name of a street or other neighborhood feature. Brower Manor Homes is at Brower Avenue and Sunnyside Road, Queens.[24]

Other examples involving surnames are:

R.H.Bailey Homes (Glen Cove, L. I.)
Guenther Estate (NI 1932)
Hallock Court (NI 1932)
Harvey Marshall Homes ("in the select Cord Mayer Section of Lovely Forest Hills")
Ingraham Estates (NI 1912)
Klein Estates (NI 1938)
Meucci Gardens (TSN 1926)
Tolle Gardens (TSN 1928)
Walbroehl Park (NI 1925)
Weber Park (NI 1947)

First Names are predominantly feminine:

Ada Mae Park (TSN 1911)
Beverley Park (NI 1929)
Carmencita Manor (TSN 1947)
Ellen Terrace Homes (Valley Stream, L. I.)
Flora Bungalow Park (NI 1928)
Florence Park (NI, Oyster Bay, 1899)
Florence Park (NI, Rockville Centre, 1907)
Hester Homes (West Englewood Hills Section, Bergenfield, N. J.)
Irma Park (NI 1893)
Map of Loretta (TSN 1905)
Miriam Estates (TSN 1910)
Phyllis Park Homes (Wantagh, L. I.)

The use of these feminine names in the titles of developments would seem to arise in some satisfaction in giving public dimension, so to speak, to private sentiment.

Some development names apparently embrace elements of first names or surnames in combination. The development names next to be cited seem to me to be probably of such character, but the

[23] For respective references see *NYT*, Nov. 21, 1948, p. R 1/2 and *NYT*, March 12, 1950, p. R 1/1.

[24] The adoption of the name of a local feature other than a place will not necessarily involve a personal name. *Heatherdell Manor* is the name of a development "on Heatherdell Road at Ardsley [N. Y.]" (Pict. cap., *NYT*, Jan. 21, 1951, p. R 3).

tentativeness of their identification should be emphasized. In this group perhaps more than in most, the possibility of duple (or multiple) suggestion is high. The ground for Edstan Village (Moonachie, N. J.) was broken by Edward A. Dowling, Jr. and Stanley Krakower. Rothrock Homes (Bethpage, L. I.) was built by Samuel I. Rockmore and A. Bertram Roth, Kee-Lee Homes by Keenan Morrow and Leroy Simon. Of Bernley Homes (Paramus, N. J.) Hyman Bernstein is president and Samuel Levine secretary. Henry Kadel and Clayton Winters were the builders of Kaywin Homes (Paramus, N. J.).

It may be that personal-name elements are present in *Ashwood Homes* (North Merrick, L. I.) "sponsored by Edwin Feldman and Asher Nestel" and *Bengren Homes* (North Valley Stream, L. I.) announced by Noah Greenspan. Joseph Bruno was instrumental in the building of Brumar Homes (Forest Hills, Queens) and Bruson Homes (Woodside, Queens). In *NYT* we read of "John Aragona's new colony of Ranch-Homes-by Argo"[25] at Bethpage, L. I. A group called Argo Homes was erected at Elmont, L. I., whether by the same entrepreneur I do not know.[26] In East Northport, L. I., an enterpriser named Gildersleeve called a development Gildare.

Momar Homes (Bergenfield, N. J.) was built by Frank and Gregory Monemurro and Charles Guimarra. Joseph Muratore was the developer of Muro Homes (Bethpage, L. I.). Responsible for Wenshaw Park (Merrick, L. I.) were Morris and Sidney Weniger, builders. At Levittown, L. I. a Miller Homes development is called Millshire Park.

Other possible amalgams of personal-name elements are found in *Luberne Homes* (Laurelton, Queens), *Pearlnat Homes* (Bowne Park, Queens), *Lejo Homes* (Queens), *Alstan Homes* (Dumont, N. J.), *Leoson Park* (Old Tappan, N. J.), *Harnat Homes* (Hicksville, L. I.), and *Lon-Mar Ranch Homes* (Hauppage, L. I.).

A developer or builder who attaches his surname to a project is presumably motivated not only by pride but by willingness to give hostage, so to speak, to the public; his name is a token of his belief in the quality of what he sells.

[25] April 23, 1950, p. 1/8.

[26] It has been suggested to me that *Argo* may also have weight for its mythological associations, as in *Argo, Argos,* and *Argonaut.* It should further be noticed that *Argo* is widely known as a trade name; it is the name of a brand of starch.

As with other commercial names, a name of this type may also take advantage of homonymy. The primary inspiration of *Monaco Manor* (Elmont, L. I.) would seem to be the name of its builder, Joseph Monaco, but possible echoes of the name of the glamorized European principality may not be considered disadvantageous. Likewise Emil Keen, in announcing his Keen Homes (Wantagh, L. I.) could hardly have been unaware of *keen* in the slang sense "very pleasing." Green Village (Westfield, N. J.) was built by "Berwick Homes, Inc., of which Gilbert Greene is president."[27] *Ruby Homes* (Glen Oaks, Queens) has possible double value — the feminine name and the name of the gem.

Especially when the developer's name is somewhat obscured by abridgement or combination with other elements, values apart from the significance of the personal name itself seem to have the main weight. *Rothrock*, for example, suggests a physiographic feature; *Ashwood*, vegetation. *Bernley*, which apparently mirrors *Bernstein* and *Levine*, has an "English" aspect; so has *Wenshaw*, which is presumably based on the surname *Weniger*. *Mi-Home* (Westchester County, N. Y.) may similarly operate in two directions; besides the suggestion of *My Home*, the first and last letters of the surname of the enterpriser, Charles Mascali, are present in the first part of the name.

Phonetic charm may be the primary object in some constructs. *Fran-Mar*, *Momar*, and *Brumar* embody the element [ma^{r}], which is much employed in trade names. *Lejo* also resembles popular commercial names.

But beyond any planned appeal in these names, it is necessary to take account of the possibility that to some degree they represent indulgence in language manipulation as a pleasure — specifically, in name invention. When a trade name is required, the fun of choosing it or creating it is a perquisite of the entrepreneur. There is some reason to think that downright pleasure in language manipulation enters to a degree into the determination of trade names.[28]

[27] *NYT*, May 6, 1951, p. R 7/1.

[28] The point cannot be developed here ta length, but one pertinent fact is that some trade names involve punning that can have little meaning for large numbers of customers. A grass-catcher for attachment to a lawn mower is called the Canvas Kid. How many prospective buyers will respond by recalling the obsolescent slang expression *candy kid* — which seems to be in view? Again, a pump for throwing insecticide in powder form is called the Hudson Duster. Probably even fewer of

PLACE NAMES AND OTHER ALLUSIONS TO PLACES

The use of local place names as specific terms (in the sense adopted here) has been exemplified in various places above. The employment of established English place names will also be recalled. Noted in the present paragraphs will be development names that involve (1) place names outside the foregoing classes; (2) names of such features as widely known streets, parks, and buildings in other communities.

The Nassau Index showed *Broadway* used as a specific term in eleven localities. Various generic terms joined with *Broadway* in the usual style; Hicksville has a *Broadway Park* (1907), a *Terrace* (1911), a *Plaza* (1912), a *Manor* (1913).

Other mementoes of New York City seem to be *Central Park* (from NI), which precedes *Estates* (1908), *Gardens* (1926), *Heights* (1913), *North* (1906), *Plaza* (1926), and *West* (1911); *Gramercy Park* (TSN 1906); *Stuyvesant Park* (TSN 1908); *Prospect Park* (TSN 1920); *Morningside Heights* (NI 1926); and *Columbia Heights* (NI 1903). *Luna Park* (TSN 1910) duplicates the name of a sometime amusement area of Coney Island. *Chelsea Park* (TSN 1912) and *Fordham Tract* (TSN 1912) possibly commemorate districts in Manhattan and the Bronx, respectively. *Waldorf Terrace* (TSN 1927) may take its specific term from the name of a celebrated New York City hotel. The Waldorf-Astoria, which is known familiarly as "the Waldorf," for many persons epitomizes high life. *Biltmore Shores* (NI 1926) includes a name that is attached to another prominent hotel. The hotel names *Waldorf* and *Biltmore* cited here make only secondary reference to New York City, though they are place names in some states.

Some other nonlocal names are framed in:

Beacon Hill (NI 1913)
Bennington Park (NI 1902)
Cape Cod (NI 1925)
Catalina-at-Sands Point (L. I.)

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the public will recognize the allusion to the old New York City gang, the Hudson Dusters. Perhaps some trade names are almost in the nature of private word-play on the part of manufacturers.

Coronado Beach (NI 1950)
Grenada Gardens (NI 1947)
Miramar (Oceanside, NI 1925)
Miramar (Sands Point, NI 1925)
Miramar Beach (TSN 1925)
Piedmont Farms (Bound Brook, N. J.)
Santa Fe Homes (Great Neck, L. I.)

Hollywood Homes (adjacent to Kings Park, L. I.) embodies a name that, like *Broadway*, grips the popular imagination across the country. The first element of *Pinehurst by the Sea* (TSN 1910) is the name of a North Carolina town where wealth pleasures itself with riding, golf, and other agreeable pursuits. Middle-class vacations, rather, will be associated with the specific term of *Bermuda Homes* (Franklin Square, L. I.). *Buena Vista Revised* (TSN 1917) projects a popular place name.

High-fashion exoticism or romantic associations seem to have led to the adoption of some names from abroad (but some of them are also place names, elsewhere, in the United States):

Alps Terrace Homes (Mountain View, N. J.)
Arcadia Homes (West Islip, L. I.)
Canals of Lido (NI 1925)
Gibraltar Homes (Riverdale, N. Y.)
Lido (NI 1916)
Plan of Tangier (TSN 1926)
Rapallo Park (TSN 1926)
San Remo (TSN 1926)
Seville Gardens (TSN 1928)
Seville Manor (TSN 1928)
Shores of Seville (NI 1926)
Trianon Park (TSN 1917)

Riviera Shores was found in TSN (1927); a section called Riviera Beach was seen on the New Jersey ocean shore; Riviera Estates is at Lattingtown, L. I. Venetian Shores is in the Town of Babylon, which is in Suffolk County, L. I. In Nassau County *Seaford Venetian Shores* was filed in 1926. Noted in TSN was *Venezia Beach* (1926). *German Gardens* (TSN) was filed in 1937. *Deauville Beach* and *Deauville Park* appear in the Nassau Index from Amityville, L. I. (both 1925). *Mandalay on the Bay* came from Wantagh, L. I. in 1926.

HISTORICAL AND TOPICAL REFERENCE

A relatively small but well-defined group of names seems to refer to places, events, and persons of American historical and topical moment. *American Farms* (TSN 1944) can be taken to signify this interest. *Columbus Park* (TSN 1918) looks back to the beginnings. *Colonial* — a giant in public names — is represented in, e. g., *Colonial Park* (TSN 1907), *Colonial Park* (Crestwood, N. Y.), and *New Colonial Manor* (TSN 1909). Alden Estates (Westchester, N. Y.), Pilgrim Park Estates (TSN 1930), Plymouth Park Homes (Fair Lawn, N. J.), North Salem (Port Washington, L. I.) Salem Park (North Merrick, L. I.), and Salem Ridge (Ridgewood, N. J.) would seem to be named with some consciousness of the historical thread.

Themes from Revolutionary times are seen in *Continental Ridge* (River Edge, N. J.), *Continental Village* (Peekskill, N. Y.), *Hamilton Park* (TSN 1909), *Jefferson Court* (TSN 1942), *Revere Gardens* (Babylon, L. I.), *Steuben Park* (TSN 1934), and *Washington Manor* (TSN 1927). Lafayette Estates is on Lafayette Avenue, Maywood, N. J.; Mount Vernon in Nutley, N. J.

Liberty Farms (TSN 1925) recalls the wide use of *liberty* in public names during and for some time after the First World War. *Victory Farms* (TSN 1942) breathed national confidence in the midst of World War II. Lincoln Park is in Brookhaven (TSN 1906). *Roosevelt Park* (TSN 1908) no doubt celebrated President Theodore Roosevelt, whose home was at Oyster Bay, L. I. Capitol Heights Park (NI 1906) was a development at Oyster Bay. *Whitehouse Plaza* was filed in Nassau in 1904, a presidential-election year. Carver Park, constituting "Non-Racial Dwellings Opened at Wyandanch, L. I." was named "in honor of George Washington Carver."[29] Norace Homes (i.e., "nonracial"?) is at Babylon, L. I.

Aviation Park (NI 1911) illustrates the tendency to adopt names with allusion to current sensations. Likewise Byrd Park (NI 1928) dates from a time when Admiral Byrd was making history in polar exploration. In 1926 international polo matches were much in the public eye, and *Polo Park*, of that date, is found in the Nassau index. From NI come *Golf View Gardens* (1925) and *Ocean Golf Estates Inc.* (1936). *Nira Homes* (NI 1938) contains the journalistic designation of the National Industrial Recovery Act. NI gives *Atomic Homes* as of 1948.[30]

[29] *NYT*, March 11, 1951, p. R 1/5.

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Lighter notes of social history are occasionally heard. The name of a heavyweight boxing champion of the world, Jess Willard, may be embodied in *Willard Park* (NI 1912), though Willard did not win his title till 1915. Olympic Heights (TSN 1912) was officially named in a year of Olympic contests. *Roxy Farms* (Lodi, N. J.) involves the nickname of a prominent theatrical figure of some twenty years ago — whether or not it intends reference to that personage. *Radio Farms* (TSN 1923) carries the faint fragrance that was radio's in its early days. NI gives *Hobby Homes* (1939). *Lindbergh Park* (1928) undoubtedly memorializes Charles A. Lindbergh's solo flight from New York to Paris, made in that year. One Lana Homes exists in Bayside, Queens, another in Kew Gardens Hills, Queens. Whether accidentally or not, these names must derive some of their power from the name of a reigning motion-picture star, Lana Turner. Likewise, it is not impossible that *Dagmar Homes* (Bellerose, Queens) benefits from the circumstance that a television actress who goes by the name of Dagmar "has become an American institution."[31]

INDIAN OR "INDIAN" NAMES

In *Names on the Land* George R. Stewart tells of the emergence of the tradition of place names that with greater or less justification are describable as "Indian."[32] Some developments too are distinguished by names that presumably lay claim to Indian provenance, among them:

Connetquot Park Second Amended (TSN 1908)
Haccabauk Park (TSN 1925)
Keewaydin Park (TSN 1907)

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[30] The influence of the atomic age is manifested otherwise in a news story, "Plans Bomb Shelters" (*NYT*, Sept. 17, 1950, p. 6 R/2):

"The A-Bomb Shelter Corporation of Teaneck, N. J., reported yesterday that it had been commissioned to build the first group of reinforced concrete bomb shelters for a moderately priced private home development in New Jersey.

"The corporation will construct shelters under attached garages of houses at Briarcliff Homes, a new 206-house project on River View Drive, Totowa, Passaic County ...

"Leonard G. Feinen of Hasbrouck Heights designed the Briarcliff Homes to sell for $11,990 to $12,900 without the bomb shelter, which is optional. The shelters start at $1,500."

[31] *Life*, July 16, 1951, p. 132. [32] P. 276.

Ketewomoke (TSN 1926)
Lake Missepogue Heights (TSN 1926)
Lake Panamoka (TSN 1940)
Moatok (TSN 1945)
Natoma Heights (TSN 1931)
Onaway Park (TSN 1907)
Orowoc Park (TSN 1906)
Pamoqua (TSN 1924)
Penataquit Park No. 1 (TSN 1908)
Sagamore Terrace (TSN 1911)
Samosett Park (TSN 1909)
Wampmissic (TSN 1896)
Wincoma Estates (TSN 1925)
Winnesunk Gardens (TSN 1926)
Wopowog Hill (TSN 1927)

Indian and quasi-Indian names constitute one of the smaller groups among the development names examined. In recent years it seems to be dropping to even lesser proportions, in the face of a vast proliferation of names that refer to presumptive physical features of the site or that have a British manner.

ENCOMIUM

Among the minor types of names are those that, directly or by implication, proclaim the virtues of the properties — their superiority or the excellence of some aspect. *NYT* told of the "Bestever Homes development at Fleetwood Manor in Roosevelt [L. I.]."[33] *Ideal Homes* was found in *NYT*, as was *Practical Homes*.[34] *Kozy Kottages* (Wayne Township, N. J.) and *Tru-Valu Homes* (Queens) show kinds of spelling alteration that are esteemed in some commercial names. Others which, perhaps with varying degrees of justification, can be placed in the encomiastic group are:

Brightsides (TSN 1916)
Choice Homes Park (NI 1949)
Crown Manor (North Lindenhurst, L. I.)
Economy Estates (NI 1926)
Economy Houses (Kenilworth, N. J.)
Elegant Cottage Sites of H. B. Hitchcock's (NI 1890)
Excello Homes (Rockville Centre, L. I.)

[33] March 12, 1950, p. R. 1/1.
[34] April 24, 1949, p. R 1/2; and April 2, 1950, p. R 5/1, respectively.

Great Estates (TSN 1907)
Jewel Park (NI 1907)
New Dawn Homes (Hempstead, L. I.)
New Way Homes (NI 1939)
Prudence Home Sites (TSN 1925)
Pure Valley Homes (Lindenhurst, L. I.)
Reliable Homes (Fair Lawn, N. J.)
Snug Harbor (TSN 1926)
Thrifty Ranch Homes (Bethpage, L. I.)
Top-Value Homes (NI 1939)
True Value Homes (NI 1942)
Valuable Buildings Sites (NI 1892)

Among terms of general aesthetic evaluation *fair* is in the lead; from NI come *Fairfield Acres* (1949), *Fairfield Park* (1949), *Fairhaven* (1905), *Fairlawn* (1906), and *Fairmont* (1937). *Beautiful Norwood* (NI 1910) shows an evaluative term not commonly found in development names.

To the general population *belle* may be best known in the sense of "a reigning beauty, etc." or as a feminine name. The word as a French adjective would be less widely known. At any rate *belle* (semantically fusing with *bell*) has a large role among place names and development names. Examples from TSN are *Belle Terrace* (1927) and *Belle View Addition* (1896), *Bellhaven Terrace* and *Bellhaven Manor* (both 1910). In them where shall we draw the line between *belle* and *bell*?[35] Illuminative of the potpourri of semantic elements in development names is the name of a development advertised as "Belle Terre Homes at American Venice . . . Lindenhurst."[36]

[35] It is reported that a suburb of Los Angeles, Bel Air, was so called for a developer named Bell.

[36] Huntington [L. I.] *Times and Suffolk Bulletin, Special Supplement, National Home Week September 10 to 17* [1950], p. 8. It is not known whether the same development is referred to in a report headed "Sues Babylon Town for Zone Decision on 'Venice' Basin" (*Long-Islander* [Huntington, L. I.], May 17, 1951, Sec. 3, p. 5/5–7). According to this report Venetian American Property, Inc. was seeking business zoning of "its artificial lagoon on the Montauk Highway west of Lindenhurst." This waterway is known as Grand Canal. Also mentioned was a local organization known as the American Venice Civic Association.

About thirty years ago I heard a schoolteacher pronounce [vinəs] for the second word in the development name *American Venice*. Whether this pronunciation was or is general, I do not know.

A note in *NYT* refers to "A home in the second section of Birchwood Better Homes in the Overbrook Manor Section of Hillsdale (N. J.)."[37]

MISCELLANY

The development names manifest other themes, some of which can be noticed here. *Audubon Terrace* (TSN 1909), *Hawthorne Manor* (TSN 1911), and *Whitman Park* (TSN 1910) may be intended to elevate the names of figures of American literature and art. Literary or other cultural allusions are discoverable in *Avalon* (NI 1927), *Elsinore* (Glen Cove, L. I.), *Sleepy Hollow Manor* (North Tarrytown, N. Y.), and *Venus Homes* (Far Rockaway, Queens). Shangri-La is "on North Shore in Little Neck (Queens, N. Y. C.)." A fishing center at Montauk, L. I., is called Fishangri-La. *Kamal* (TSN 1946) sits strangely in Southampton, L. I. A *Sherwood Estates* is found near Clifton, N. J., and another at West Islip, L. I. Also in the vicinity of Clifton is Robin Hood Village. *Captain Kidd Estates* (Mattituck, L. I.) celebrates another romanticized outlaw. A small development "near the Chicago airport" was named Sherlock Homes.[38]

From TSN we learn that the *Map of Artists & Writers Colony* was filed in 1936, *Idle Hour Artists Colony* in 1927. Art Homes is at Bethpage, L. I. Oriental atmosphere appears to be the aim in *Kismet Park* (TSN 1926) and *Nirvana Gardens* (Great Neck, L. I.). In contrast to these exotic specimens are *Cottage Park Estates* (Fair Lawn, N. J.) and *Bethpage Greens* (Bethpage, L. I.). The latter makes unexpected homely suggestions.

The country club constitutes a minor theme. A news item begins:

> Several residential properties in the Country Club section of the East Bronx overlooking Long Island Sound passed to new control yesterday...[39]

Also found was a reference to the Country Club section of Short Hills, N. J. Some development names that hold out the same bright promise are *Country Club Estates* (Short Hills, N. J.), *Country Club Heights* (TSN 1941), *Country Club Park* (NI 1922), and *Momar*

[37] June 10, 1951, p. 8 R/1. Again suggested is the process by which subdivision is added to subdivision (Birchwood Better Homes being a subdivision of Overbrook Manor, which is part of Hillsdale). Another point is illustrated by a reference, later in the same piece: "The three-bedroom ranch homes at Birchwood have center hall entrances ..." Here the first element of the development name seems to be treated as a place name, which it might in time become.

[38] *New Yorker*, Aug. 1, 1953, p. 12.

[39] *NYT*, July 15, 1951, p. R 1/2.

Country Club Homes (Ramsey, N. J.). Here it is convenient to notice also *Country Life Acres* (Hicksville, L. I.) and *Homestead Country Homes* (Spring Lake Heights, N. J.).

Perhaps folk names have persevered in *Cobblers Hill Heights* (TSN 1911), *Goose Bay Estates* (TSN 1934), *Turkey Hollow* (TSN 1948), and *Wheat Path Plots* (TSN 1909). From NI come *Chicken Valley* (1911), *Cream Pot Heights* (1919), *Crow Hill* (1924), *Horse Brook* (1938), and *Parsonage Beach* (1923). Higher learning gets its due, as in *Amherst Heights* (NI 1936), *Bryn Mawr* (Yonkers, N. Y.), *Rutgers Homes* (West Hempstead, L. I.), and *Rutgers Village* (New Brunswick, N. J.). Poetical are *Azurest* (TSN 1947), *Convent Gardens* (TSN 1930), *Dreamland* (TSN 1910), *Echo Park* (TSN 1907), *Gondola Gardens* (TSN 1930), *Idle Hour* (TSN 1926), *Smoke Rise* (Butler, N. J.), *Whispering Breeze* (TSN 1910), and *Whispering Woods* (East Hampton, L. I.). Visitors flying to New York City from abroad arrive at the New York International Airport, commonly known as Idlewild, after the local subdivision.

Amalgams of personal names have been noted above. Local place names are also used in coinages. *Hicksbury Homes*, at Westbury, L. I., suggests also nearby Hicksville. Rocklyn Homes (NI 1948) is at East Rockaway; Brooklyn is not a thousand miles away. Rockstead (NI 1914) is at Rockville Centre, but brings to mind nearby Hempstead. Willisdale, at Mineola, has some echo of the name of adjoining East Williston. *Beltagh Heights* (NI 1926), at Bellmore, employs the second part of the name of nearby Wantagh. Glenco Homes (NI 1946) is at Glen Cove. Glenola Park (NI 1895), at South Sea Cliff, may embody parts of *Glen Cove* and *Mineola* – the names of nearby communities. *Farmadie Farms*, at Farmingdale, L. I., may have been inspired partly by the widely known name of the French liner, *Normandie*. A development described on a sign as "A Residential Paradise," at Northport, L. I., does bear the name of that ship. Millpage (NI 1949) is at Bethpage. *Valmont Gardens* (NI 1949), at Elmont, evidently contains a reminder of Valley Stream, an adjoining community.

Various examples from NI hardly fit into any of the larger categories: *Cathedral Gardens* (1927), *Centennial Gardens* (1926), *Peoples Park* (1912), *Residence Park* (1903), *School Plaza* (1928). A development at Woods Road and Deer Park Avenue, Babylon, L. I., was called Urban Life Homes on a sign noted March 12, 1955.

An obituary states that two business men "After a look at the Florida real estate boom in 1924" returned to Chattanooga, Tennessee "to develop Lookout Mountain. They sold 110 lots at $2,760 each in a section called Fairyland."[40]

A suburb of Chicago, named Flossmoor, was mentioned in a news story.[41]

The bound forms *land*, *town*, and *ville* do not easily fit into any of the foregoing semantic categories. In the count of bound forms from the NI sampling (1854—1950), given in Section 3 of this paper, the respective incidences of *land*, *town*, and *ville* are 11, 2, and 12. In development names this trio of bound forms, which has a long tradition in place names, seems to be noncommittal in respect to social tone.

5. RECENTLY AFFIXED NAMES COMPARED WITH EARLIER ONES

One of the "framework questions" (Question C) of this study is, "How do recently affixed names compare with earlier ones?" An attempt was made to get some evidence on this problem. Given in Section 3, with each form in the list from NI, were (1) the date of the earliest name (in my notes) that included the form and (2) the incidence of the form in the sampling from NI. The quantitatively leading unbound forms in NI were found to be, in descending order, *Park*, *Estate(s)*, *Garden(s)*, *Manor*, *Terrace*, *Home(s)*, *Heights*, *Villa(s)*, *View(s)*, *Plaza*, *Lawn(s)*, and *Beach* and *Farm(s)*.

With respect to the incidence of these forms in the names of recent developments, examination of the real-estate section of the Sunday *NYT*, September, 1950-July, 1951, gave the following results: *Villa(s)*, *Views*, *Plaza*, *Lawn(s)*, and *Beach* were not noticed. The remaining forms were found in the following incidence: *Home(s)* 229, *Estate(s)* 75, *Park* 64, *Garden(s)* 27, *Manor* 27, *Heights* 16, *Terrace* 9, *Farm(s)* 3, *View* 2.

In the count from *NYT* of the indicated period, then, as compared with that from NI for approximately the preceding century: First place is taken overwhelmingly by *Home(s)*. *Park* drops from first place to third. *Terrace* and *View* also take lower serial stations,

[40] "John G. Carter Dies; Creator of Midget Golf," New York *Herald Tribune*, July 23, 1954, p. 6/5.

[41] "Dr. Hartman, Psychologist ...," *ibid.*, June 13, 1955, p. 4/1.

while *Farm*(s) moves up a notch. The relative frequencies of all unbound forms found in *NYT*, except *Home*(*s*) and *Estate*(*s*), were lower than in the names recorded in NI during the preceding century.

The prodigious use of generic *Homes* seems to have taken rise during the house-building boom that began shortly after the end of the Second World War. The full blooming of the usage was preceded by some employment of *home* as a specific term and as a bound form in initial position, e. g., in the following names from NI: *Home Acres* (1936), *Homeland* (1925), *Homeland Manor* (1926), *Homestead Park* (1914). (It is recognized that the status of *home* in the established compounds *Homeland* and *Homestead* is somewhat different from its status in such an "original" construct as *Homelawn*.) From TSN come *Homecrest* (1910), *Homeland* (1928), *Homesites* (1920), and *Homewood* (1923).

Certainly, it is an advance in property sense for the prospective home owner to possess an Estate rather than to live in a Park. *Terrace* in development names may be slipping because its considerable fashion in the names of apartment houses (though not, apparently, in those most recently built) has draped it with suggestions not found suitable for houses in the country. No hypothesis is here offered for the extinction (in the names observed) of *Views* and the near-disappearance of *View*. The attenuation of *Farm*(*s*) suggests an increasingly urbanized — or suburbanized — state of mind among the main body of buyers of houses in developments.

The rage for "ranch homes" has led to the wide adoption of that expression in the names of developments.[42] An advertisement for

[42] Note: "Ranch Homes Lead Models on Display in Nassau Centers," *NYT*, July 15, 1951, p. R 1/4.

Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (1956) defines *ranch house* as "A one-story building typically having an informal interior plan and a low-pitched roof." This definition would seem to be properly loose-fitting. On the vagueness of recent applications of *ranch house*, see *Sunset Western Ranch Houses* by the Editorial Staff of *Sunset Magazine* in collaboration with Cliff May (San Francisco, 1946), p. IX.

In the phraseology of the sellers, *ranch house* has generally become *ranch home*. Other expressions used are *ranch type home*, *ranch style home*, and *rancher*. In an advertisement for Garden Park Homes, Bayside, Queens, even *ranch* is applied to the dwelling proper: "6 Room Brick Ranch" (*NYT*, June 3, 1951, p. 2 R). Item: "The Holly Ranch is a deluxe Brick and Fieldstone Ranch Home located in Hollis Hills, Queens County." (Advt., *NYT*, Oct. 28, 1951, p. R 3.)

Continental Ridge (River Edge, N. J.) referred to "the smartest and most efficient home style yet found – the earth-caressing ranch house."[43]

Many dwellings of recent construction supposedly embody features of the ranch house. Whether there is always functional justification for Southwestern ranch-house design in northern latitudes in a moot point. Very likely some of the popularity of that design is related to the upsurge of popular interest in cowboy themes in recent years. The craze for cowboy songs and "Western" motion pictures ("hoss operas") and television programs; the idolization, by children, of certain actors who impersonate cowboys; the accoutring of children in cowboy costumes, including rococo-realistic toy revolvers — these are some manifestations of this social phenomenon. Related, no doubt, is the institution of the dude ranch.

The following development names exemplify the ranch theme:

Berkshire Ranch Homes (Bethpage, L. I.)
Big Rough Ranch Colony (Copiague, L. I.)
Clovermere Park Ranch Homes (Oceanside, L. I.)
Dude Ranch Homes (Little Neck, L. I.)
Greysan Ranch Homes (Hempstead, L. I.)
Hartland Ranch Homes (Hollis Hills, Queens)
Jerry Spiegel Ranch Homes (Hicksville, L. I.)
Las Vegas Ranch Homes (Seaford, L. I.)
Merrick Manor Ranch Homes (Merrick, L. I.)
Orchard Park Ranch Homes (L. I.)
Parkdale Ranch Homes (Babylon, L. I.)
Pasadena Ranch Colony (Queens)
Surbania Ranch Homes (Bethpage, L. I.)
Wood Hill Ranch Homes ("In Beautiful Knollwood Manor," Westchester)

The term *ranch house* and its variants have had the benefit of some fairly bemusing elaboration. *NYT* (March 6, 1949, p. R 1) carried a photograph of a "Typical unit in Willard L. Bergman's Nabek Home project" in Beechhurst, Flushing, Queens. "It is described," the *Times* note stated, "as being in 'Neoclassic ranch-type' architecture." An advertisement for Colony Park in Baldwin and Freeport, L. I. (*NYT*, July 13, 1958, p. R 5) announces the "7 Room Seafarer Rancher." Southwestern architecture experiences another sea change in a picture caption (*NYT*, Aug. 23, 1958, p. 9): "Sofas in the living room of the 'ranch-style' houseboat provide sleeping accommodations for four extra guests." The name or description of a house said to be "an exciting adventure into the enchanted world of Japanese design," in Willowbrook Shores, Oceanside, L. I., is "Pagoda Ranch" (*NYT*, June 7, 1959, p. 6 R).

[43] *NYT*, Aug. 7, 1949, p. R 5.

Some evidence suggests that the developments themselves may on occasion be called ranches; e. g., in *Duplex Ranch* (Cunningham Park, Queens), *Raymond Ranch* (Hawthorne, N. J.), and *Ridge Ranch* (Paramus, N. J.).[44] *El Rancho* seems to be the name of a development at Freeport, L. I.[45]

Something more — or less — than cow-country atmosphere is suggested by the advertising line, "Thrill to a New Sun Ranch Home by Cy Williams NOW in Magnificently Wooded INDIAN HILL in beautiful Chappaqua, Westchester."[46] Even more mixed are the suggestions in *Mayfair Ranch Homes* (Fair Lawn, N. J.) and *Roxbury Manor Ranch Homes* (near Levittown, L. I.). "Ranch Type Colonials" at Crestwood, N. Y. were advertised.[47]

Notable too are the Pomonok Ranch Homes in Flushing, Queens. An advertisement for the Pomonok development states that "Folks have been clamoring for a ranch home convenient to the Subway, and HERE IT IS."[48] The same advertisement tells prospective ranch bosses that Pomonok is "In N. Y. City's 15c fare zone." An advertisement for Post Homes at "The Oaks" (Bayside, Queens) is headed, "The Fabulous Ranch Home in N. Y. City."[49] This rugged subject should hardly be left without notice that there are ranch-type apartments as well as ranch "homes." An advertisement urges, "Live in Long Beach [L. I.] this summer — In Fine, Newly Built/Ranch Type Apartments."[50]

[44] For these names notice the following respective phrasings: (1) "Duplex Ranch, a development of three-bedroom ranch-style dwellings, is under construction at Union Turnpike and 214th Street in the Cunningham Park section of Queens." (*NYT*, April 2, 1950, p. R 5/1) – (2) "... the $17,350 price class opening today at Raymond Ranch colony in Hawthorne ..." (Pict. cap., *NYT*, March 11, 1951, p. 4 R) – (3) "... seventy-five dwellings in the Ridge Ranch development ...in Paramus ..." (*NYT*, July 1, 1951, p. R 7/4).

[45] New York *Herald Tribune*, July 17, 1949, Sec. 6, p. 5/2.

[46] *NYT*, Nov. 5, 1950, p. R 7. [47] *NYT*, May 22, 1949, p. R 13/8.

[48] *NYT*, Jan. 21, 1951, p. R 5. [49] *NYT*, May 27, 1951, p. R 3.

[50] *NYT*, April 22, 1951, p. 6 R. Most of the semantic themes noticed in development names have appeared in the names of apartments. See Arthur Minton, "Apartment-House Names," *American Speech*, XX (1945), 168–77. However, in form and signification the names of apartments of more recent construction appear to be drawing even closer to development names. This eventuation may be related to the widespread construction of colonies of apartment buildings and especially to the greater number of "garden apartments," multiple dwellings with extensive space for greenery between and around the buildings. Garden apartments are likely to be on the outskirts of cities or in suburbs.

Sam Berger King Ranch (Westchester County, N. Y.) brings to mind, whether intentionally or not, the King Ranch, of fabled vastness, in Texas. The Astor Ranch Development Company operated in Port Washington, a suburb on the north shore of Long Island, not far from New York City. Silver Spur Ranch Homes were offered in Merrick, L. I., at $9,750. Ranch Mart, Inc. is a "specialty contracting organization for builders and homeowners."[51]

The inclusion of *Homes* and *Ranch Homes* in names accounts in part at least for the seemingly greater proportion of multiword names in the recent group. The list of "ranch-home" developments, lately given, shows names containing three or four words. A five-worder is seen in *Rock Hall Ranch Home Colony* (Oceanside, L. I.).

Impressions may be in order on the present status of some forms that are in the NI lists of Section 3 but that are not necessarily in the group of highest incidence. The views presented on this question are based on examination of a wider sector of the real-estate section of *NYT* (viz., 1948-1951) and on observations of names from other sources.

The generic terms *Acres* and *Village* make a strong showing in the issues of *NYT* examined. Following are examples of the former:

Fenway Acres (White Plains, N. Y.)
Freeport Acres (Freeport, L. I.)
Garwood Acres (Garfield, N. J.)
Gold Acres (Massapequa, L. I.)
Green Acres (Valley Stream, L. I.)
High Clear Acres (Stamford, Conn.)
Malverne Acres (West Hempstead, L. I.)
Post Acres (Westbury, L. I.)
Roth Acres (Malba, Queens)
Rye Acres (Rye, N. Y.)
Wheatley Acres (near Manhasset, L. I.)

Perhaps some of the charm of *Acres* may be ascribed to the word's suggestion of the ownership of country spaces. *Village* may suggest a supposed cosiness of life in a small community. Examples for the latter, from *NYT*, are:

Crest Village (Little Silver, N. J.)
Glen Oaks Village (Queens)

[51] *NYT*, July 15, 1951, p. 6 R/1.

Meridian Village (Roselle, N. J.)
Middle Village (Saddle River Township, N. J.)
Parkway Village Homes (Valley Stream, L. I.)
Preakness Village Manor (Preakness, N. J.)
Strathmore Village (Manhasset, L. I.)
Syosset Ranch Village (Syosset, L. I.)
Trousdell Village (Glen Cove, L. I.)
Twin Lakes Village (Lewisboro, N. Y.)

While the incidence of *Acres* and *Village* now seems to be high, some other forms on the NI lists rarely or never appear in recently created names. Impressions on this head can be related to the periods of the earliest occurrence of some forms as they were noted in NI. Of the forms first recorded before 1900, *burgh*, *Grove*, *Lots*, *Sites*, and *Villa(s)*[52] seem to have little or no currency in recently given development names. *Centre*, *Court*, *Plaza*, *Square*, and *Wood*, noted as first used in the decade 1900—1909, are rarely adopted today. *Center*, first recorded from NI in a name of 1924 (cf. *Centre*, above), now has an old-fashioned and bucolic air. In recent development names I can recall only one occurrence of *Cottage*, which was also found in a single name from NI, of date 1931. Omitted from consideration here are terms that can be supposed to designate distinctive geographical formations, such as *Cove* and *Island*.

THEMES IN THE ADVERTISING OF DEVELOPMENTS

Themes found in advertisements for developments would seem in some wise to reflect attitudes of developers and their customers. Toward better appreciation of recently created names, then, it may not be amiss to delineate some advertising themes.

Basic physical features of the house and the location are of course given prominent place — e. g., the quality of the construction of the house, beauty of architecture and setting, and accessibility of shopping centers, theaters, churches, and schools. Emphasis on location within the limits of New York City or near the City has already been pointed out as a feature of some advertisements.

Improved family living is stressed — the spaciousness and other advantages of country living:

[52] The singular and the plural forms of the word are here considered as one, but the earliest date noted for *Villas* was 1915.

If YOU ARE a young couple with a growing family ... want plenty of bedrooms ... wide open spaces ... beautiful climate ... good schools ... and a Bergen County address, Ramview Heights in restful, residential Ramsey was built especially for you.[53]

The suggestion of a "good address" will be noted. The same combination — of improved family life plus prestige — is limned in an advertisement headed:

Choose a Richer, Fuller Family Life on the site J. Pierpont Morgan selected for HIS HOME in Glen Cove, L. I.[54]

The text explains:

On this site, familiar to royalty of yesteryear, you may now enjoy gracious living in a community of exclusive homes.

It could be argued that the appeal here is not so much on proffered prestige as on the reasoning: "This place must be good. It was selected by J. P. Morgan, who could have the best."

Through an advertisement for Brous Homes (Massapequa, L. I.) royal appointments are made available to the common man:

YOU are royalty ... / ... in princely surroundings rarely, / if ever, offered in this price field

When you choose one of the new – ALL NEW – 44+x36 ft. super-size Brous Homes, *you* are royalty. For no expense has been spared in providing the luxury, convenience and architectural improvements that assure you and your family a lifetime of graceful town-and-country living.[55]

The approval of unspecified persons is implied in 'famous,' as in:

SEE THIS IMPROVED CUSTOM VALUE RANCH HOME IN FAMOUS NORGATE at Roslyn, L. I.[56].

The class weight of a locality may receive specific emphasis. An advertisement for Preston Park Estates begins:

On the Waterfront/Superb Acre Plots/At/Aristocratic/Kings Point/Great Neck.[57]

An advertisement for Syosset Manor (Syosset, L. I.) explains:

Here, for you, is a gently-bred, exclusive community ... gracious and unaffected ... rich in those refinements so *essential* to the discriminating ... embraced on every side by the quiet dignity of large, landed estates ...[58]

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[53] Advt., *NYT*, June 17, 1951, p. 8 R.
[54] *NYT*, Oct. 1, 1950, p. 2 R.
[55] *NYT*, March 26, 1950, p. 2 R.
[56] Advt., *NYT*, Nov. 12, 1950, p. R 5.
[57] *NYT*, April 29, 1951, p. 4 R.
[58] *NYT*, Sept. 23, 1951, p. 2 R.

'Prestige For Sale!' is the heading of an advertisement for Crown Heath (Wantagh, L. I.). The exclamation is explained:

Here is more than just another home. Here you enjoy, also, the prestige of one of America's most modern kitchens, complete with refrigerator, range, clock exhaust fan, Bendix washer and knotty pine cabinets – *an all-electric masterpiece.*[59]

In the first half of the twentieth century as a result of the development of motion pictures, radio, and television the entertainment industry equipped with vast-powered publicity machines, has taken an increasing part in the manufacture of a national – rather, an international – mythos. As a result actors, crooners, band leaders, news analysts, and the like have come to constitute an elite whose status is at least equal to that of "society," the latter term signifying a group whose discreteness is premised on the possession of wealth, especially over some generations, and on certain mores.[60] This observation has some reflection in a flyer for Broadfields, "A Beautiful Home Community/at Huntington [L. I.]/Where Broadway and Park Avenue Meet" – Broadway and Park Avenue symbolizing in ordinary parlance the worlds of professional entertainment and wealth, respectively.

Beauty assumes a special aspect in elegance:

Elegance/PERSONIFIED/in Fashionable LAWRENCE

An inspired achievement in custom home creation, dedicated to a new concept of suburban elegance.[61]

Luxury is a theme:

A Luxury-Packed Home in a World-Famed Community (Eagle Rock Estates, Garden City, L. I.).[62]

[59] *NYT*, Sept. 16, 1951, p. R 5.

[60] Cf. C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York, 1956), Ch. 4.

[61] Advt. for Lawrence Estates (Lawrence, L. I.), *NYT*, date not available. It is not known in what sense *custom* is to be taken in this advertisement. But in passing it should be noticed that the word seems to be taking on the meaning "of high (or the highest) luxury standards." An advertisement calls Hill Crest Acres "A Custom-Planned Community in Westbury, L. I." (*NYT*, Sept. 23, 1951, p. 8 R) Specifications of a house called The Holly Ranch are given in an advertisement, *NYT*, Oct. 28, 1951, p. R/3. The text states that "Only eleven of these custom built homes will be offered!" It is not only in the advertising of developments that the meaning of *custom* is so extended. Thus a group of Ford automobiles is called by their manufacturer the Customline.

[62] Advt. for Eagle Rock Estates (Garden City, L. I.), *NYT*, June 17, 1951, p. 2 R.

Particular aspects of luxury are brought out in:

TABOR HOME BECOMES/NATIONAL SHOWPLACE/"Palace Upstairs – Nightclub Downstairs" has/Many Luxury Features Never Seen Before.[63]

The advertisement for this palace-nightclub reads, in part:

The kitchen is fully automatic in the Tabor tradition and in addition has an extra feature which is destined to be the biggest surprise of the century . . . a built-in electrically motor-driven barbecue, installed in a brick fireplace. You pull a switch and on it goes, turning 50 lbs. of meat at once. This is the first time this barbecue has been introduced anywhere in the world.

Post Homes at The Oaks (Bayside, Queens) offers in its units "The 'Starlight Room'/Your Own Nightclub/At No Extra Cost."[64]

Electrical equipment is an important factor in luxury-living:

See It NOW! . . . / Hotpoint House of the 50's/the Most Electrified Home Ever Built/PUSH-BUTTON LIVING IS HERE!/Windows disappear into walls, screens take their place! /Garage doors open, house lights go on by car radio control![65]

This advertisement continues:

See a beautifully furnished home that shows complete electric living is becoming an integral part of the American way of life . . .

See the greenhouse where flowers bloom whether the sun shines or not . . . the built-in soda bar where you can make anything you get at a regular soda fountain!

Just imagine . . . a bedside switch starts coffee perking in the kitchen . . . Year-round, thermostatically-controlled air conditioning keeps every corner super comfortable!

See more time-saving, work-saving, comfort-making electrical equipment than was ever built into a home! And every product is standard and available for medium income families!

Modernity is of importance. An advertisement for Bethpage Park Estates, West Farmingdale, L. I., is headed "AS MODERN AS TOMORROW/Introducing the *Fabulous* 'Pinehurst'/A MASTER-PIECE of Custom RANCH Construction."[66]

The ranch houses of Lenard (in advertisements, *Lénard*) Homes, Valley Stream, L. I., like those of some other developments, have "'science' kitchens."[67] Wheatley Acres (Manhasset, L. I.) offers

[63] Advt. for the Tabor Home, Kew Garden [*sic*] Estates (Queens), *NYT*, May 6, 1951, p. 4 R.

[64] Advt., *NYT*, June 17, 1951, p. R 3.

[65] Advt., *NYT*, Nov. 5, 1950, p. 8 R.

[66] *NYT*, Aug. 19, 1951, p. R 5.

[67] *NYT*, June 3, 1951, p. R 5/1. The quotation marks around *science* are found in the *NYT* report.

"The New RANCH LIFE Television House. A TREMENDOUS SUCCESS" The nature of this combination of ranching and television is explained partly thus:

These new houses are truly planned for your future – you can really entertain and be entertained. Built-in RCA television at your fireplace – hospitable snack shelf opening from an electric kitchen – picture windows – indoor-outdoor garden.[68]

Fun is promised. Garden Park Homes (Bayside, Queens) are announced as "Next to Alley Pond Park — 500 Acres of Fun."[69]

Names are sometimes given to house models in developments.[70] These house (or "home") names have their own interest as part of the ornamentation of developments. A few examples are: the *Patrician* (Hamilton Homes, Massapequa Park, L. I.), the "*Royal Elm*" and the "*Royal Oak*"[71] (Post Homes at The Oaks, Bayside, Queens), *The Flamingo* (Homes by Lénard, Valley Stream, L. I.), *The Californian* (Nassau Shores, L. I.), the *Americana* (Deanin Homes, Farmingdale, L. I.), *The Plainsman* (Guilford Homes, Merrick, L. I.), and *Miracle Americana* (Flower Hill, Manhasset, L. I. and Hewlett Crest Park, Hewlett, L. I.). In ascending order of price levels The Texan, the New Yorker, and The Skyliner are houses at Rollingwood (West Hills, Huntington, L. I.).

The poetry of this literature may go beyond names. Concerning the houses of Freeport Hills (Freeport, L. I.) the developer sang:

Why Look for Castles in the Air . . . /WHEN YOU CAN FIND YOUR DREAM HOME RIGHT AT FREEPORT HILLS ?/EL RANCHO'S Got Everything but a Western Sky.[72]

Concerning the Catalina ("the Fabulous Catalina"), in a development at East Meadow, L. I., an advertisement presents as a kind of motto: "'where East Meadow meets the Golden West'."[73]

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[68] Advt., *NYT*, Aug. 7, 1949, p. R 5.

[69] Advt., *NYT*, June 3, 1951, p. 2 R.

[70] Names composed of elements typical of development names have sometimes been applied to houses that can be presumed not to have been units in developments. The house presented by George Washington in 1799 to his adopted daughter Nelly Custice and his nephew Lawrence Lewis was called Woodlawn. (Pict. cap., *New York Times Magazine*, June 28, 1953, pp. 16–17.) "The Victorian type home of Thomas A. Edison, known as Glenmont, in Llewellyn Park, West Orange, N. J." was pictured with the note that it was "To become National Shrine." (New York *Herald Tribune*, Dec. 7, 1955, p. 19.)

[71] Quotation marks are used with the name in an advertisement, *NYT*, June 17, 1951, p. R 3.

[72] Advt., *NYT*, July 17, 1949, p. 6 R.

[73] *NYT*, Sept. 16, 1951, p. 8 R.

To conclude, advertisements emphasize tangible fundamental advantages for the owner's family, quality of building construction and beauty of architecture and setting, a healthful environment, convenience to shopping and other centers, and ease of commuting. On another level are material offerings that go beyond middle-middle-class basic expectations — for example, highly electrified "science kitchens," and "push-button living" involving remote-controlled electrical devices, a greenhouse, air-conditioning, and a built-in soda fountain. Beyond the foregoing classes of selling points there exists a rhetoric that does not specifically deal with construction, situation, or apparatus. In this category are offers of prestige, exclusiveness, good times, exciting living, Western atmosphere, and "modernity." The terms in which these last goods are described in advertisements should especially be considered in relation to the development names.

(The concluding installment of this paper will include the following topics: "Comparison with Established Place Names," "Some Semantic Problems," and "Questions of Method.")

New Milford, Connecticut

Heceta: A Name With a Split Personality

WALTER C. KRAFT

In 1775, just thirty years before Lewis and Clark made their historic journey to the Pacific Northwest, a Spanish sea captain, Bruno Heceta, sailing up the Pacific coast of North America in the corvette *Santiago*, sighted the rugged coast below present-day Tillamook, Oregon, and recorded his impressions thereof in his diary.[1] Today two landmarks on the Oregon coast bear his name — *Heceta Head* and *Heceta Beach*. Moreover, the bold sentinel which stands on *Heceta Head* is widely known as *Heceta Head Lighthouse* or simply as *Heceta Head Light*. In addition, the marine shelf which lies some thirty miles off the headland is known to navigators as *Heceta Bank*.

But for two quite different pronunciations now current for *Heceta* within a relatively small area, we might rapidly pass over the names *Heceta Head* and *Heceta Beach*, since the naming of landmarks after exploreres and navigators follows a common pattern. These two distinct pronunciations for *Heceta*, prevailing not only along the Oregon coast but generally throughout the state, are [hɛ′sitə] and [′hɛkətə]. Each is used widely by a large group of native speakers, there being also those speakers who use both pronunciations. In addition, the Castilian pronunciation of *Heceta* is sometimes cited as a third possibility;[2] any such pronunciation, however, must be dismissed as an amusing pedantry having no place, except historical, in a toponymic analysis.

Traditionally the name *Heceta* (also written *Hezeta* in older documents) is pronounced [e′θeta] in Castile; in Southern Spain and throughout Hispanic America it is usually pronounced [e′seta]. It is common knowledge that throughout Spanish-speaking America

[1] Robert Greenhow, *The History of Oregon and California* (New York and Philadelphia, 1845), pp. 430–433. — H. H. Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, vol. XXVII of *Works* (San Francisco, 1884), I, 158ff.

[2] "Spanish Heritage," *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), Jan. 6, 1957, Northwest Rotogravure Magazine, p. 8.

the Castilian "ceceo" has given way to "seseo." The effect of this phenomenon is reflected everywhere in this hemisphere in the pronunciation — not only by South Americans but also by North Americans — of such names as *San Francisco*, *El Cerrito*, *Santa Cruz*, and countless others.

Following the normal pattern of Anglicization of Spanish names in North America one would indeed expect *Heceta* to be pronounced [hɛˊsitə], or [həˊsitə], the aspiration of the initial letter representing a normal development because of the undeniably strong influence of the printed word. Such a pronunciation, as has already been noted, is widely used by one group of native speakers; many of these are to be found in and about Florence, a small community situated just off the southern end of *Heceta Beach*. However, it is to be noted that *Heceta Head*, lying about twelve miles to the north of Florence, is commonly known as ['hɛkətə 'hɛd], especially by those living nearby. Similarly *Heceta Head Lighthouse* (or *Heceta Head Light*) generally reflects the latter pronunciation in this region. It is interesting to note that the men and officers of the United States Coast Guard Station located at *Heceta Head* endorse only the pronunciation ['hɛkətə] and regard [hɛˊsitə] as quite improper.

Moreover, there are those inhabiting the area who regularly refer to ['hɛkətə 'hɛd] on the one hand and to [hɛˊsitə 'bitš] on the other. A case in point is a native informant who — living and operating a grocery store midway between the headland and the beach — regularly makes this careful distinction between the two. It is only fair to state that most native inhabitants do not make such a close distinction; most speakers settle on one pronunciation or the other for both landmarks.

No serious writer will deny the existence of these two variant pronunciations for *Heceta*. The problem of determining local preferences remains. No well-defined isogloss delimiting two distinct areas is apparent; one can say only that the pronunciation ['hɛkətə] seems to be favored in the northern portion of this area, whereas [hɛˊsitə] tends to prevail in the southern portion. In Oregon at large both pronunciations are widely heard; for the most part any preference for one form or the other is an individual matter. Finally, those Oregonians who are not intimately acquainted with the Oregon coast and who know the name *Heceta* mainly from their reading will know it only as [hɛˊsitə] or something similar.

It is not surprising to learn that various popular commentators have felt constrained to make occasional pronouncements concerning the dual pronunciation of the name *Heceta*. Many of these statements are ill-advised and naive and thus are often more confusing than informative. Even in the definitive book on Oregon place names one reads the following statement:

> The name Heceta is frightfully mispronounced on some parts of the Oregon coast, where it is called *Heketa*, with a strong accent on the first syllable. In Castilian the pronunciation would be *Ay-thay-tah*, with the accent on the second syllable. This sound is a little difficult for Oregonians, most of whom seem to have Anglicized the word into *Heseta*, with the accent on the second syllable. Doubtless that style will prevail.[3]

To say that the name is "frightfully mispronounced" by those who use it most in their workaday vocabulary is to deny English the right to Anglicize, or is to doubt that right; or to say that *Heceta*, as pronounced in Spain or in Castile, is a "little difficult for Oregonians" is to fail to recognize the great power of the English tongue — or of any dynamic language — to assimilate into itself words and names whencesoever they come.It is this very adaptability — stemming, in part at least, from two great currents of tradition, Anglo-Saxon and Romance, flowing side by side in modern English — which has contributed so much toward making it one of the world's great languages.[4] However a pronunciation such as [ˈhɛkətə] may grate upon the ear of the purist, it behooves the onomatologist to record his findings impassionately and without bias, employing accurate linguistic methods and basing his studies on sound historic and phonological principles. Let us not rule out [ˈhɛkətə] as a valid form simply because a native of Spain or Hispanic America would fail to recognize in it the name of Captain Bruno Heceta, sometime navigator to the Spanish crown.

As a final task it devolves upon the onomatologist to determine how or suggest reasons why an aberrant form such as [ˈhɛkətə] ever arose and became so widespread. As far as this name is concerned, we have very little data other than the fact itself; therefore, any explanation will be based upon conjecture.

[3] Lewis A. McArthur, *Oregon Geographic Names* (3rd ed.; Portland, Oregon, 1952), pp. 293–294.

[4] As I write this, there comes to mind that excellent series of studies entitled *The Great Languages*, edited by William J. Entwistle and published by Faber & Faber, Ltd., of London.

It has already been suggested that initial [h] in the Anglicized pronunciation of the name *Heceta* derives from the strong influence of the written word. The shift of stress from the second to the first syllable offers no problem, as this phenomenon occurs very frequently in English. One need think only of the name *Florida*, which Ponce de León called [flo'riða] and which we English-speaking Americans today call ['florədə] or ['flarədə]. Further, the reduction of the two remaining vowels to [ə] follows a pattern which is characteristic of English. The real stumbling block in the form ['hɛkətə] is the sound [k]; its presence cannot be explained by the operation of phonetic principles. Nor can the vagaries of English spelling be offered as a satisfactory explanation; in modern English orthography *c* occurring before *i* or *e* is rarely pronounced [k]. Thus Kenyon and Knott do not cite a single word beginning with *ci-* or *ce-* as being pronounced with [k]; even the word *Celt*, when so spelled, is assigned but one pronunciation [sɛlt], whereas [kɛlt] is listed as the only pronunciation for *Kelt*.[5]

When all is said and done, the name *Heceta* pronounced with [k] instead of [s] seems strange indeed. One might charge this pronunciation simply to local caprice; this is the easy way out but it is hardly satisfying. It would seem that an explanation should be sought elsewhere. Is it possible that the name *Heceta* was confused with another? Perhaps the answer is to be found here. When we examine the coastline of the Pacific Northwest, we find that there exists a *Hecate Strait* several hundred miles to the north of *Heceta Head*, lying between the Queen Charlotte Islands and the mainland of British Columbia. The name *Heceta* — to be derived ultimately from Gk. Ἑκάτη, one of the lesser deities — is generally pronounced ['hɛkətɪ] or ['hɛkətə].[6] To assume that *Heceta* in Oregon was confused with *Hecate* in British Columbia seems at first a difficult step to take, since very few Oregonians except fishermen or seamen know of the existence of *Hecate Strait*. If the names were confused, it would seem that such confusion first took place among those who were best acquainted with both areas — fishermen, seamen, shipmasters, and the like. Does this account for the fact that ['hɛkətə]

[5] *A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English* (Springfield, Mass., 1951), pp. 74, 242.

[6] In Shakespeare and other early English writers *Hecate* is usually to be pronounced ['hɛkɪt].

is today the only accepted pronunciation for *Heceta* among the coast guardsmen and lighthouse keepers of Oregon's *Heceta Head*? I shall not attempt to answer the question. Or is one to assume that some shipmaster or lighthouse keeper, or perhaps some local teacher or preacher, knew his Greek — or for that matter his *Macbeth* — better than he did his Spanish or his *Quixote*? Again, there is no answer. The fact remains that *Heceta*, when pronounced ['hɛkətə], is as strange to the English-trained eye as the spelling which Daniel Boone employed when, after one of his early exploits, he carved his name upon a certain tree informing any and all who should pass by that he had "cilled a bar" thereon — doubtless prouder of his prowess as a hunter than of his accuracy as a speller.[7]

Oregon State College

[7] For the benefit of the foreign reader not acquainted with the almost legendary feats of Daniel Boone, this is to be interpreted as "killed a bear."

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT etc.

(Required by the Act of Congress of August 21, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946.)

County of Alameda } ss
State of California }

Before me, a notary public in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Madison S. Beeler, who having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of *NAMES*, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management etc. of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher etc. are Publisher, American Name Society, 2413 Dwinelle Hall, University of California, Berkeley 4, Calif. Editor, Madison S. Beeler, 150 Hill Road, Berkeley 8, Calif.

2. That the owner is: American Name Society, Inc., 2413 Dwinelle Hall, University of California, Berkeley 4, Calif., a non-profit organization.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bond, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

[Signed] Madison S. Beeler

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of September, 1959.

[Signed] Dee A. Strange
Notary Public

[SEAL]

Reviews

William D. Overman, *Ohio Town Names*. Akron, 1958. Pp. 155. $ 4.00.

When I was working on *Names on the Land*, I would have welcomed such a book as this, and would have used it thankfully, as I used similar books, such as Massengill's *Texas Towns*. Some years have passed, however, since then; the American Name Society has been founded, and has been carrying on its work for some time. One function of that society should certainly be to attempt by all means to raise the standard of onomastic scholarship in this country.

Instead, therefore, of congratulating Mr. Overman for the considerable positive achievement in his book, I find myself faced with the less agreeable task of pointing out its shortcomings. I do so with the particular hope that this long review may possibly serve as some standard of reference for other workers. In this field of study we must not be content with having done as well as we have done, but must attempt something better.

For the achievement of my end I find it convenient to break the review into separate sections. As I progress through them, I shall point out Mr. Overman's achievements, as well as his shortcomings.

Completeness. Except by his title, Mr. Overman does not define his field. He has entries for about 1200 names. This would seem to be sufficient, but actually there are some puzzling omissions. There is no entry for such a goodsized town as Cambridge. Other names that sound interesting receive no attention, e. g., Chuckery, Chilo, Getaway, Mogadore, Scio, Tranquility. Other entries consist of gossipy guidebook information, with nothing about the name at all, or nothing significant. Thus, New Rumley is allotted nine lines, because it is the birthplace of General Custer, but we are told nothing about the name. The Indian name Maumee is also so slighted, as is the interesting Venedocia. In similar case are Alcony, Arcanum, Louden, Maria Stein, Marengo, Mingo, Omal, Otway.

Accuracy. Mr. Overman may be commended for considerable attention to accuracy. Although the general reviewer is at a disadvantage in approaching such a local book as this, I feel that the

author has worked hard to ascertain his facts. Some vaguenesses about names have been permitted, e. g., "the Adams brothers," (p. 1) and "a soldier, Colonel Loveland," (p. 78). In such cases, identification by first name or by initials is preferable, especially since it increases our confidence in the research.

Citation of sources. References to the sources of information are to be considered essential in a work of reference of this sort. Otherwise we have no way to check against mere speculation on the part of the author, and scholars lack a firm point from which to advance toward further study. Mr. Overman was careful to cite his sources. They are given, I should estimate, in about 90 % of the cases, and most of the others are so general as not to require citation. An occasional entry, such as Ludlow Falls, lacks a reference where one seems to be needed.

Linguistic competency. Since place names are primarily linguistic phenomena, the worker in that field should either himself know the languages with which he is forced to deal, or should have his work checked by those who do know the languages. In this comparatively small book, the author has needed to give the meanings of words in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, Algonquian, and Iroquoian. Apparently he has merely taken the word of whatever authority he happened to be using at the time, and the result has been the blind leading the blind. Thus Auglaize is given with its proper meaning, "at the lick," but with no explanation that it is a French phrase, and with the implication that it is of Indian origin. Of Arcadia, we can certainly not agree that "in Greek, it means a region inhabited by rural people." The language is not given in which Urbana is said to mean "refinement;" in Latin, it might, indeed, mean "refined." In his treatment of Indian names, Mr. Overman leaves something to be desired. (Unfortunately, the same may be said in greater or less degree for practically all general works on American place names, including, I am afraid, my own.) Mr. Overman appears to have no knowledge of any Indian language, and to lack the ability to make independent judgments of his own. Where he has been able to use the work of August C. Mahr, he has at least an authority on which to rest. For other names, he reverts to an "others say" or "it is said" technique (Conneaut, Moxahala Park). For Gahanna he writes, "an Indian word according to early guide books meaning 'three united in one'." Since this is the name of a creek, we might at

least suspect that it preserves the Algonquian "hanna," appearing in the names of several streams in Pennsylvania, and itself meaning "stream."

This problem of Indian names seems to me the most difficult one now facing us. The worker must first collect the early forms of the name, so that its proper spelling can be approximated. He should then from historical and geographical evidence do his best to determine to what language the word is to be referred. With this spade-work accomplished, he could probably be able to get expert advice from one of the many scholars now industriously studying the Indian languages.

Historical competency. Localism is likely to be a bane of much of our place name study. I myself may be adversely criticized for having tired to cover too much and thus having spread my efforts too thinly, but the opposite error is apparent in many works devoted to the place names of a single state or a fraction thereof. It is well to bury the nose in county histories, but a worker should also remember that one of our place names may be derived from Herodotus or may echo some name ten thousand miles away. Of Catawba Mr. Overman's entry is "is said to be an Indian work meaning 'cut off'." But should not one be broadly enough based in the American background to realize that Catawba is the name of a tribe in South Carolina? Unless the town was named for the grape, the name is as much a transfer name in Ohio as is Toledo. Similarly Carthagena "is said to be that of 'the leader of a colored tribe which settled in this area'." That it may have been, I cannot refute. In view of the number of Spanish and Latin American names in Ohio, however, this other possibility should certainly have been mentioned. Gore is mentioned as if unique in Ohio; actually, it is a widely spread surveyor's term. A vigorous checking against some standard reference work is always advisable before a work is released to print. The existence in Ohio of Belfast, Colerain, Londonderry, and Antrim would seem to indicate a strong Scotch-Irish influence. Mr. Overman, however, suggests this only in connection with Caledonia, which is more properly Scottish than Scotch-Irish. Similarly, one might point out that Lebanon is a biblical mountain, (not a city), that Palmyra is not mentioned in the Bible under that name, and that Columbus never sailed from Lisbon on any voyage worthy of commemoration.

Onomastic process. Few students of names (either American or European) seem to have given much consideration to the actual processes by which names arise, and are shifted later. Actually, not much is available in print on the subject, and a preparation of a handbook might be a worthy project for the American Name Society. With more awareness of these processes, Mr. Overman might have done better with such names as Carthagena and Catawba. He would also have been more aware of the fact that streams are likely to be named before the towns that bear the same name.

Firm judgment. Although others may differ from me on this matter, I consider that the scholar's business is not only to collect and present opinions, but also to judge and come to a decision among the opinions. Occasionally, indeed, the evidence will be so even that no decision is possible; but such a case will not occur often. Mr. Overman generally makes the decision, but sometimes does not. Under Logan, for instance, he gives three opinions, not distinguishing among them except to discriminate against the last by writing "although the source for this statement is not revealed nor can it be verified." Actually, the same applies to the other two, opinions, one of which Mr. Overman has introduced with the words, "one writer says," and the other, by "it is said."

Pronunciation. Except for Gallipolis, I do not believe that Mr. Overman anywhere comments upon pronunciation. Now, obviously, there is no need to use space to tell us how to pronounce Columbus, or Centerville. But one would appreciate information as to usage regarding the final *i* of Cincinnati. What about the *g* in Carthagena? One would also appreciate information on Ai, Rehoboth, and most of the less common Indian names. In some instances, information on the pronunciation is not only generally useful, but is also essential for determining the proper derivation. An example here is Pitchin. One can hardly accept Mr. Overman's derivation, unless the name is actually pronounced Pitch-in.

Discrimination among authorities. No work can be much better than the authorities upon which it is based. Mr. Overman has drawn his information, sometimes directly from individuals (apparently both by interview and by letter), sometimes some earlier works on place names, sometimes directly from historical works. On the whole, Mr. Overman has been less discriminating than might have been wished. Thus, for instance, he sometimes cites Henry Gannett,

although the work thus signed has been about as thoroughly discredited as a work can be.

Clear style. In a work of this kind, clarity of style rather than elaboration and fine prose is to be expected. Mr. Overman's style is generally clear. One sentence, however, forced me to do a double take, when I read that Ai was "the city destroyed by Joshua because of the existence of many saloons there."

The inclusion of much matter extraneous to the names is to be questioned. The places are, we might say, overlocated. In most instances, the county would be enough, but we are also given the highways on which the place is located, and sometimes other information. Other guidebook notes are also inserted, as has already been indicated in the extreme case of New Rumley. Such material not only clutters the page with information that seems extraneous in a volume entitled "Ohio Town Names," but also needlessly increases the expense of publication, and so is in general not to be recommended.

This review has been drawn out to considerable length in the hope that the comments here offered may be of some interest to those who are at present working upon handbooks similar to this present one. This review may be of use in pointing out some of the difficulties and the danger spots in the compilation of American place name dictionaries. Its general admonition is, I suppose, that the scholar of place names should be at all points fully aware that to be a good student of names he should be well founded linguistically, historically, and geographically as well as one possessing the special knowledge of his particular locale.

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The Origins of Unusual Place-Names. By Armond and Winifred Moyer. Keystone Publishing Associates, Emmaus, Pennsylvania. 1958.

Mr. and Mrs. Moyer have been collecting unusual place-names since the early thirties, and this little book is the first published result of their hobby. Set up in dictionary style, its entries run from ACCIDENT, Md. to YOUNG AMERICA, Ind. The criterion for inclusion seems to have been merely that a name seemed "unusual"

to the authors; although MOUNT PLEASANT, Penn. hardly qualifies, its original designation as HELLTOWN might have been a good choice for the main entry.

The struggles of local committees on name selection with the Post Office department in Washington are reflected in entries at EFFORT, Penn., DIFFICULT, Tenn., CHOICE, Texas, and PECULIAR, Mo. (PECULIAR, Wisc., now discontinued as a post office, has a similar heritage, but is not mentioned.) Occasionally, a name explained in its geographic context produces an anticlimax: HOP BOTTOM, Penn. is an area drained by a stream with wild hops growing on its banks. Family names of early settlers account for HURT, Va., DULL CENTER, Wyo., CRISP, Mo., COUCH, Mo., STARTUP, Wash., WALTZ, Mich., and SPEED, Ind.

The re-naming of TRUTH OR CONSEQUENCES, New Mexico as a publicity stunt is well told; there is interesting historical an linguistic sense in the explanations for TEN SLEEP, Wyo., and for ORDINARY, Va., which dates back to an 18th century usage of *ordinary* to designate a hostelry less elegant than an *inn* or a *tavern*.

But the book has a value as entertainment only, and despite the diligence that went into its making, it cannot be reckoned as a serious contribution to the study of place-names. This is made clear by a statement on page 94: "We have never expressed doubt concerning the origin of any place name . . ."; though variant explanations are sometimes given, there is no attempt at critical evaluation. One might also ask if there is really much point in an entry such as the one at PLANT, Ark.,: "Sources contacted say it has no significance," or in similar dead-ends at RADIANT, Va., SOLO, Mo., TOAST, N. C., TEA, S. Dak., and STAB, Ky. At POLO, Ill., one reads: "Marco Polo, Venetian traveler and author (1252-1324)." and can only wonder if he is really alleged to have reached Ogle County, Ill.

In the Acknowledgments, the authors say — and rightly, for a book of this size and scope — that a bibliography would be out of the question. The AAA *Tour Books*, the *American Guide Series*, and the United States *Postal Guide* are listed as useful sources; but there is nothing either here or, unfortunately, in the text that indicates any awareness of some of the readable *and* scholarly works on place-names that have been published to date. Not even so popular a book as Georte R. Stewart's *Names on the Land* is cited.

Occasionally, the prose style leaves something to be desired; entries switch from florid to telegraphic style, and there are a few lapses in syntax. Some points of fact: ETHER (page 45) can hardly properly be called a "drug", and the Smithsonian is officially an Institution, not an Institute (p. 83). SIX MILE RUN, Penn. is said to be "Taken from the name of the creek nearby which flows (runs) for a distance of six miles"; this is perhaps more aptly explained by stating that *run* is an extremely common generic term for a small stream in the Midland speech area. It has also been my experience that many of the bodies of water that are named for a certain number of miles are indicating their distance from a town or other landmark rather than their length. Early settlers would be more likely to remember how far out from town a stream crossed the trail than to pace off its length and name it accordingly. (This, however, is a point that would have to be proved for each instance of an X-mile name.)

At the end of the book is a list of names Mr. and Mrs. Moyer hope to track down for their next book; we wish them well, and respectfully suggest that they might find in the Seely and Sealock *Bibliography of Place Name Literature* and the supplements to it that have been published in *Names*, part of the way to more reliable and even more fascinating information. No one can deny that much on-the-spot research on local names is still needed; the Moyers have undeniably gone to some trouble to gather their explanations, and one can only regret that they have not been even a little critical in accepting them as fact. Perhaps it would be feasible — it would certainly be fun, anyway — to publish parallel accounts in their next book: the fanciful story, where there is one, and the true story. This would be much in the spirit of the etymologist who delights in folk etymologies but is always careful to distinguish them from the genuine article.

The authors have obviously enjoyed doing this book, and these suggestions are offered not to discourage them, but in the sincere hope that many readers who share their enthusiasm for interesting and unusual names may find their next volume more rewarding.

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LITHUANIAN ANIMAL NAMES USED AS RIVER NAMES

Raymond Schmittlein, in his interesting and provocative book, *Toponymie lituanienne* (Vol. I of *Études sur la nationalité des Aestii*, Baden-Baden, 1948), p. 96, doubts that there are in Lithuanian numerous river names which are simple animal names. In his opinion, such occurrences are rather exceptional, and some of them may be designations of mythological origin. He is right in stating that P. Trost in his article, "Der bloße Tiername als Gewässerbezeichnung," which appeared in *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung*, XII (1936), 89–90, had misunderstood Georg Gerullis. Actually, Gerullis, in his article, "Der bloße Tiername als Gewässerbezeichnung im Baltischen", in *Studi Baltici*, III (Roma, 1933), 35–38, while admitting that there are Old Prussian, Lithuanian, and Lettish river names which in their sounds are identical with certain animal names, tries to explain this phonetic identity through popular etymology or as regular homonyms (a kind of phonetic confluence). He succeeds in proving his point in a number of cases. Howver, in other cases he does not even try to give an explanation, contenting himself with the modest statement of resignation that our knowledge does not reach too far back. Thus, he has the following unexplained Lithuanian examples: *bìtė* "bee" and *Bìtė* name of a brook, *eržilas* "stallion" and *Eržilas* "name of a lake," *lašišà* "salmon" and *Lašišà* name of a river, *meletà* "green woodpecker" and *Meletà* name of a brook, *vãbalas* "beetle" and *Vãbalas* name of a river.

Concerning Gerullis' lament that our knowledge does not reach too far back, it must be stated that first of all the age of such designations should be ascertained. I have a suspicion that in many cases such names are not very old. The fact that in Europe a number of etymologically unexplainable river names are still in use even today, does not warrant the conclusion that all names of bodies of water must be old.

In absolute contrast to Gerullis' and Schmittlein's opinions, we find in the Lithuanian Orthographic Dictionary (*Lietuvių kalbos rašybos žodynas*, Kaunas, 1948), p. 145, the following statement:

"Many lakes and rivers are called by the names of animals, wild beasts, various living creatures, and plants, e.g., *Vil̃kas*, *Vil̃kė*, *Vilkiniaĩ*, *Vi[kupis*, *Šérnupis*, *Kãtežeris*, *Elnỹs*, *Ẽlnė*, *Kařvė*, *Veršupis*, *Avìniškė*, *Sařtiz*, *Sařtupis*, *Šẽmė*, *Pálšis*, *Gaigalìnis*, *Ąžuolùpis*, *Béržis*, *Klẽvežeris*. A significant portion of the lake and river names have fish names, e.g., *Ešerìnis*, *Kařšupis*, *Lydẽkinė*, *Lydẽkis*, *Lỹnežeris*, *Mekšrìnis*, *Mekšrùpis*, *Šamìnis*, *Šamùkas*, *Šãpalas*, *Ungurỹs*, *Unguráitis*, *Vẽžežeris*, *Vėžỹs*, *Vėžùpis*."

The authors of the Lithuanian Orthographic Dictionary (a collective made up of K. Gasparavičius, N. Grigas, J. Lazauskas, K. Ulvydas, and A. Žirgulys) are somewhat careless in their expression. Thus, in the first group of names, there are only four names, namely, *Vil̃kas*, *Sařtis*, *Šẽmė*, *Pálšis*, which are phonetically identical with the corresponding common nouns, *vil̃kas* "wolf," *sařtis* "chestnut, i.e. a reddish-brown horse," *šẽmė* "a cow of a bluish gray color," *pálšis* "an ox of a light gray color." All the others are either compounds with *ẽžeras* "lake" (*Kãtežeris* "Cat Lake," *Klẽvežeris* "Maple Lake") or *ùpė* "river" (*Vil̃kupis* "Wolf River," *Šérnupis* "Boar River," *Veršupis* "Calf River," *Sařtupis* "Chestnut River," *Ąžuolùpis* "Oak River") or they are former adjectives in *-is* (*-ỹs*) for the masculine gender and *-ė* for the feminine. It should be especially noted that the names *Vil̃kė* and *Kařvė* are not phonetically identical with the seemingly corresponding common nouns *vìlkė* "she-wolf" and *kárvė* "cow." While these common nouns have acute intonation, the two proper names have circumflex intonation, a fact which shows them up as secondary formations, originally adjectival in character.

In the above-quoted group of names of fish or other water animals used as names of bodies of water, there are only three which are identical with the corresponding common nouns: *šãpalas* "a type of carp (leuciscus cephalus)," *ungurỹs* "eel," *vėžỹs* "crayfish." *Šamùkas* is a diminutive form of *šãmas* "sheat-fish (siluris glanis)" just as *Unguráitis* is a diminutive of *ungurỹs*. The remaining names of that group are compounds with the nouns *ùpė* "river" (*Kařšupis*, *Mekšrùpis*, *Vėžùpis*) or *ẽžeras* "lake" (*Lỹnežeris*, *Vẽžežeris*), or adjective formations in *-inis* or *-is*. Examples for such adjective formations are *Lydẽkinė* (name of a river in the district

of Alytus) and *Lydẽkis* (name of lakes in the districts of Utena and Zarasai). Both forms are derived from the common noun *lydekà* "pike (esox lucius)." *Lydẽkinė* is an abbreviation of *lydẽkinė ùpė* "pike river," while *Lydẽkis* originated from *lydẽkis ẽžeras* "pike lake."

Names like *Vėžežeris* "Crayfish Lake" and *Vėžùpis* "Crayfish River" are unequivocal. They indicate that crayfish live in such bodies of water. When we find, beside such compounds, also the common noun *vėžỹs* "crayfish" as the proper name of a river (in the district of Šakiai), we have an example of back formation. Similarly, *Vil̃kupis* "Wolf River" and *Šérnupis* "Boar River" designate bodies of water on whose banks wolves or boars can be found now or could be found in the past. A *Vil̃kupis* exists in the district of Šakiai and a *Vilkupỹs* in the district of Vilkaviškis. The common noun *vil̃kas* "wolf" occurs in the function of a proper name of a river in the district of Lazdijai. Again a case of back formation, from either *Vil̃kupis* or *Vilkupỹs*. A river with the feminine name *Vil̃kė* exists in the district of Lazdijai. In view of the different intonation of the common noun *vìlkė* "she-wolf," the proper name *Vil̃kė* cannot be identical with it. It can only be a back formation from a compound *vil̃kupė* "wolf river."

Such a back formation is also represented by the name *Béržis*, a reduction of either *béržupis* "birch river" or *béržežeris* "birch lake," i.e., a river or lake with birch trees on its banks or shores. The common noun for "birch tree" is *béržas*.

Both Gerullis and Schmittlein are right when they refuse to admit the use of plain common designations of animals as proper names for rivers and lakes. I go a step farther and assert that there is no need for any mythological background, since the use of animal names as river names is only a secondary development.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF NOMENCLATURE IN A FRENCH CLASSICAL COMEDY

When Hauteroche's *Les Bourgeoises de qualité* appeared in 1690 the rôle of the valet was an old theatre tradition. Certain names had become the time-honored appellation of stage valets: Arlequin, Mezzetin, Scapin (the "Commedia dell'Arte" had left its mark), Philippin, Frontin and a host of others conspired throughout the French comic repertory to bring the plot to a successful conclusion. Only rarely was one of these names owned by a character other than a valet, a case in point being that of Crispin, a hotel proprietor, who was in Raymond Poisson's *Le Fou de qualité* (1682). It will be recalled that some actors were known by the name of the character they portrayed on the stage rather more than by their own. For example, one seldom thinks of Julien Bedeau in theatre history, but his stage creation, Jodelet, remains alive in memory as the character for whom seven plays were written between 1645 and 1659.

There was a vast store of traditional names on which Hauteroche might have drawn to name his valet in the *Bourgeoises*. However, he eschewed all of these and introduced a new name, that of L'Esperance.

This decision was more than the author's whim, as may be seen in his preface. Here he rebuffs critics who have objected to still another valet disguised as his master. This valet, Hauteroche tells us, is different:

> ... si ces connoisseurs avoient bien examiné le personnage du Valet qui passe ici pour son Maître, ils auroient connu qu'il est fort différent de ceux qui l'ont précédé, & qu'il prend une route toute opposée à celle qu'ils ont tenue. Il n'agit point, dans cette Comédie, en Valet extravagant; au contraire, il s'y soutient partout en homme de qualité, & ne fait aucune chose pour faire soupçonner qu'il ne soit pas ce qu'il feint d'être. Ses manieres, ses discours & ses habits n'ont rien de ridicule; tout paroît en lui vraisemblable; & il ne tombe point, par ses actions ni par ses paroles, dans des plaisanteries outrées & grossieres. Il conserve toujours beaucoup de bienséance; & s'il en sort quelques occasions, c'est de concert avec les gens, afin de faire mieux réussir

> ce qu'il entreprend. Ainsi je puis dire sûrement qu'il y a du nouveau dans son caractère, dans ses sentimens & dans ses expressions.[1]

L'Esperance's disguise as a count is a device to bring about his master's marriage. Dr. Lancaster feels it "better suited to a farce than to a comedy of manners" and notes that whereas Molière used a similar stratagem in *Les Précieuses ridicules*, he did not in *Les Femmes savantes*.[2] At any rate, the author's attempted novelty in this important valet rôle apparently failed to impress audiences, as the play, a good one, was shown only nine times and has never been put on again since 1690.

The author's experiment with his valet has interest as a problem of dramatic creation, despite the play's failure. Particularly to be noted is the importance Hauteroche attached to the choice of a name for this character. "L'Esperance" suggests Hauteroche's awareness of the psychological impact that names must have had in his day.

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[1] Noel le Breton, *Théâtre* (Paris, 1772), III.

[2] Henry Carrington Lancaster, *French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore, 1940), Part IV, Vol. II, p. 822.